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Henry Stone

THE

CHRISTIAN EXAMINER

AND

RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY.

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CHRISTIAN EXAMINER

AND

RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY.

REV. GEORGE PUTNAM, of Roxbury, - - - - - } *Editors.*
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statement of the very law of our constitution ; and that we may the more surely receive the benefit in it designed, we ought to contemplate this fact of the supreme power of conspicuous excellence to inflame the breast and win the applause of mankind, as one of God's main provisions to keep sanctity and integrity alive on the earth.

Those who, on that day of February which has become the most marked in our calendar, being aroused from sleep by the noise of guns and bells booming over a territory now no inconsiderable part of the habitable globe, asked what it meant, waited not long for an answer from others' lips or their own hearts, that it was to celebrate the birthday of George Washington.

And who was George Washington, that he should be thus remembered? He was the leader of our Revolutionary armies ; he was the first President of these United States. But was it because he filled those great offices, because he was general or chief magistrate, that he is thus remembered? *Can* a man not be supreme civil or military officer of a nation, and yet be forgotten, or some time only remembered to be despised?

Will a man's station, will a man's genius, will a man's success, have in it any necessary magic to sanctify him to the grateful, revering recollection of ages and of endless populations who see his figure only on the chronicler's page? No, thank God, it is the greatest eulogy on the human heart itself, that not genius or success or office, but character, wins the crown of its unmeasured approval and unquenchable love. It is because Washington, the providential captain of our hosts and head of our counsels, was a good man ; that he was pure, patriotic, and disinterested ; that, in circumstances irresistibly exciting all the ambition of the human soul, he was ambitious for his country and not for himself ; that, in circumstances of the greatest darkness and discouragement, he did not despair of a just cause ; that he took the inspiration that supported and moved him, not from probabilities and earthly prudence, which many a time could not hold him up one moment in his way, but from right and from the heavens ; that he received his sword and his chair as from God, and rendered them back to God, as the sculptor has well represented, when the purposes for which he wielded the one and sat in the

other were accomplished; — it is for this solemn, sublime, unspotted quality of his soul, that the somewhat grave and utterly unpretending man, that never talked of his fidelity, and could only give stammering thanks to the representatives of his country for their appreciation of it, nor was fond of making any demonstrations even of his affection, has secured the attachment of a continent, a sort of personal loyalty of the whole Anglo-Saxon race, and the admiration of the civilized world. This, and no executive order, sets up his statue in the public hall. This fires the gun, pulls the rope of the bell, inspires and speaks the oration, makes his grave mightier than the living presence of weaker and less worthy men that come after him, and brings back to earth the very soul long since translated to its reward. Let us not be anxious whether we shall come back after we are gone. We shall come back fast enough if our virtue suffice!

It is nothing but a righteous and holy character that will be everlastingly remembered with honor; and that can never fail to be. What is Christianity itself, but the projected surviving heart and life of the incomparably, divinely greatest character that was ever shown on earth? We do not mean to say that such a character will, without high station or extraordinary faculties of mind, make a man of course widely known; but it will make him known and esteemed for ever by all to whom, according to the compass of his abilities and opportunities, his disposition has been revealed. And we say, let the gifts be what they may in largeness and splendor, if they be connected with ungenerous vices and selfish aims, the essential immorality will be a bar, a divine *statute of limitations* to all worthy repute, all enthusiastic veneration in the world.

This matter of our actual pattern or ideal standard has bearings of so unspeakable moment, that we must try to illustrate it by some reference to a book, whose title we have already given, and which contains an account of the life of a man of great genius, the foremost man of letters — so the literary judges say — of the last century, — one of the great peers of thought and language in the modern world, — we mean the German Goethe. But this great artist, whose observation was never surpassed, whose pen as a recorder of what he saw could

not be transcended, whose words are always things, and whose books are as crystals, through their transparent solidity, whenever they are opened, the light always so clearly shines, — this man of eye and tongue cannot win even from his friends that sort of homage which is paid to Washington. Why? Because nobody, not even his devotees, can believe him to have been as great in character as he was in intellect; because, unlike Washington, when the invader's heel was on *his* country, when the liberty of the nation that gave birth to him as its greatest son in intellectual power was in peril, he had nothing to say, and, great seer as he was, seemed to perceive nothing that he ought; but when others, whose feebler wits he would have scorned, cried out for the union and defence of the Fatherland, his brain, the biggest that had stirred for ages on the banks of the Rhine, came to a full stop, for no heart proportionate to itself throbbed beneath to keep it in motion; and it was left to a writer of our own day to affirm, without contradiction, "No generous sentiment ever prompted Goethe to set himself in imprudent opposition to any misuse of power." And when we read his story through, and learn that this defect of character touched not only his public course, but his private relations, that he could also leave and grow cold to one after another of the objects of his fondest affection, when they had ceased to minister to his personal satisfaction and pleasure, we declare of him that we will admire his wonderful and productive genius, but that love his character we cannot.

Goethe and Washington, — they are names perhaps never before so brought together, and which some may think it very strange to see written in the same period at once; but there really could not be a comparison furnishing for our inquiry a more decisive test. For the character that Washington had, Goethe had not, and to the brilliant parts which glittered with every motion of the German bard, as though a diamond were turned in the sun, Washington made no pretension. He had no single and prodigious faculty, no charm of speech or quickness of fancy, by which attention is irresistibly fixed and men's hearts taken by storm. He was a plain man, of common sense, marvellous good judgment, and moral intuition; it would almost seem anybody could be great

the way he was; Scripture itself is hardly more artless and unwrought in its story, than the language that was inscribed in his papers or fell from his lips. Some will doubt whether he can even be called a man of genius at all. Perhaps not, according to our technical or conventional idea. But he had a genius of perfect and amazing fitness for the times and the land of his birth. He was *our good genius*,—a sort of guardian angel and earthly providence to this people. It was indeed a quite peculiar and very rare kind of genius that he had,—the genius of a public soul, of an ability for affairs, intricate or vast, and of an unerring conscience, so nice that, like the most delicate instrument, it could weigh every scruple,—so broad and strong, it could bear a whole nation in its sublime balance. For if we will speak of genius, let us remember there are two kinds of genius, of intellect and of character.

The genius of character, then, or the genius of intellect, the question is, Which is chief? which shall win in this great competition? which outrun in the long race men run together down the vista of time? The admirers of description and imagination will give their suffrages to the intellectual power; and one of the foreign encomiasts of this magnificent representative in our times of human intelligence is a little out of humor that we think so much on this side the water of our great character, Washington, and wants to know why we so exaggerate his commonplace merits,—why, instead of having these laudatory orations about him every year all over the land, we do not rather employ somebody, who will tell the truth, to reduce him to his proper size and just level, as a man whose fortune was singular, but his capabilities by no means remarkable after all. Because, let us say to our Transatlantic critic in his delight at the cunning of men's heads,—because, however it may be with the experts who weigh men in scales of logic, or write articles for magazines, MANKIND, *that wonderful creature of a common mind*, estimates the greatness of its members more by the magnanimity of their souls; and the soul of Washington was one of the grandest of all ages, that takes its equal rank with Greek, and Roman, and Hebrew names of renown for humane and pious worth,—names that seem written not in our poor rec-

ords, but on the sky's arch,—names in the broad sunshine of whose moral glory, spreading through the world, all the little fires, which men have made with the kindling of words from abstract conceptions, go out. For howsoever otherwise a man may be distinguished,—and I admit there are many ways in which men may distinguish themselves,—unless there be in him a spirit of love, devotion, and self-sacrifice, we feel he lacks the very pith and beauty of manhood; and though he may be a great performer with his pen, as one plays well on a musical instrument, *a great being* he is not.

Accordingly, it is curious to see that the last biographer of the great Goethe is himself so seriously troubled by the sober charges of selfishness and coldness brought against his favorite, that he expands through many pages one unquestionably very laudable instance of his pecuniary liberality to an unfortunate individual, to prove that he was really, on the contrary, of a warm-hearted and sympathetic temper. But why labor the matter so much? Why be so anxious to make out, in the life of a great man, a solitary case of the charity and almsgiving that should flow from him every day, according to his store, in perennial streams,—the fountain in his bosom, the streams ever in his life,—even as we read that the paths of God “drop fatness”? Or why depend on the demonstration of a man's pity and compassion for his fellow-men at all, if intellect and genius and beaming fancy be the notable and peculiar mark of his fame? Has he not written these matchless poems? Has he not contrived the plots of these beautiful plays? Do not his lines and metres run, as do scarce any others, in our ear like the music of brooks; and his metaphors shine like the fields and seas and clouds from which they are drawn; and, in the personages of his dramatic tales, the varieties of human inclination move up and down marvellously, almost as in living shape to our enraptured inward sight; while singular discoveries in science put upon his head a double crown of gems rarely united for one who, so mighty and many-sided, was as an intellectual king among men? And is not this glory enough for a man? No,—it is not glory enough for a man! He must himself be the best character he can represent. He must enact the finest quality he can paint. He must do and

love to do in daily habit a thousand times over for the beauty of his daily life, the noblest deed he can abstractly conceive or most expressively describe. In other words, his intellect must not overtop his character, nor his mouth outboast the achievement of his hands; but all grace and honor, holy as the flames, burn from him through the relations he may sustain with man, — *and woman too*, — before we accept his title to be the creature God, the incomprehensible Maker, designed when so fearfully and wonderfully he became the Former of the human body and the Father of the human soul. It is not knowledge, but love, that we principally adore in Himself, the Almighty; — it is not knowledge, but love, like his own, that shall move us in his offspring.

As there is no distinction, while men live, so sharp as that of character, so there is none that so pursues them after they are dead. Go to your closet and take the key, and enter the tomb where, in their orderly rows of coffins, lie the ashes of those you have known in life, and you will require no epitaphs, you will not need to go outside to read the lines from the graver's chisel, but only the information of your own faithful heart, to discriminate between them according to their moral qualities; and you will feel in that dim and damp air, if nowhere else, that no other discrimination is comparatively of any account. The voice of Divine inspiration itself only predicts or repeats that verdict of the human heart which is itself an earnest of the decrees of the judgment day; — for, though a particular eulogist or censor, speaker or writer, may mistake in judgment about this person or that, the human heart does not; and the human heart decides that, whether by God or man, character shall be set above intellect, and patriotic ardor, philanthropic toil, be more loved and prized than rhetorical excellence or poetic skill, — as it is fit that *being and doing* a thing should be reckoned above merely *saying* it. So we look upon such a one as Goethe, perhaps *the greatest sayer* of things in this latter age; we read the tale of his life impartially through; we want to like him as much as possible; we examine his conduct and penetrate to the interior spirit from which it springs; and we say to him: We delight in your gifts, — we are very thankful for your astonishing powers, — we gladly allow you your

large and masterly place in the world, — we will appreciate and praise God for what is useful and instructive — and very useful and instructive it is — in your kind also, — but, pardon us, we cannot *love* you! We reserve our love for him who, however much or well he may have succeeded in saying, was a *doer* of all he said, or you said, or that can by anybody be said, under the sun! A special plea our panegyrist makes, to prove, against the general impression of mankind, that his literary hero was lofty and warm-hearted after all. Suppose, then, one should make an elaborate argument to prove, as against question or contradiction, the elevation, breadth, and benignity of Washington's soul, — as has so painfully and with such scanty success been done with respect to Goethe. We should answer, We know it already; nobody doubts it; your argument is insult and a superfluity; it is WASHINGTON of whom you speak! Ah, it is true, the *genius of character* in a great man transcends the *genius of intellect*. There shall be for Goethe a little celebration for a few years in Weimar or Frankfort, where one sees his statue and his house; and for Washington a great one for ever in a hemisphere. A few scholars shall have intense and perhaps endless delight in Goethe's songs; the whole human heart shall rejoice in Washington's doings. Both shall have their immortality here below, — let us be just to own it; but the immortality of virtue is infinitely more precious than that of talent.

For the freedom and simplicity of our comparison we offer no apology. We are educated by our admirations, — by our admirations for persons; nothing, perhaps, educates us so much. Individuals and nations are educated by the great men they propose to themselves for models; and it is a blessing, as we count it, of heavenly fortune to us, that our great man should be such a man as he was, so good, — as it is, we must consider, a misfortune for a country like France to have for her type and predominating spirit a name suggestive of usurpation and selfish ambition, which has so often very naturally been made a term of contrast with that of the great American. It is the contrast of intellect and character. In the presence of Napoleon, who would think of making any claim for Washington of equality in original thought, inventive wit, faculty of keen expression, mak-

ing proverbs for the world, legislative capacity, or military resource. But in that which is greater than any or all of these things, incorruptible character, Europe as well as America, let us bear witness, is reminded by Washington's honor of Napoleon's shame. In vain even in America itself the Corsican finds in our own day, for his latest biographer, a man who tries to lift the burden of that shame and transform it into immaculate honor: like the stone Sisyphus was condemned in the lower region to roll to the top of a hill, it only recoils to more fearful depth of ruin, by the judgment of God and the human heart, — while the soul of the patriot rises for ever by its intrinsic buoyancy of celestial attraction, — no hand could lift, none hold it back, — like a star you see mounting the steep of the sky.

Thank God for the argument such a character affords against all scepticism concerning the capacity of human nature or its fate! Was it indeed, shall we think, an artful compound of matter, a curious quintessence of dust, taken from the soil of Virginia and resolved to earth again on the banks of the Potomac, out of which was formed a character potent for such achievements while the breath lasted, and maintaining for itself such jubilees of praise century after century, after the eyes it looked through first saw the light? O no! such a character by living still in this world proves itself to be alive in *another*. Whether, as many believe, there are in our time spectral revelations from that other world we know not. We only know that we want no evidence of sensible apparition, no cold touch from ghostly fingers, no audible voice from unearthly lips, to convince us of *its* continued existence. We ask no witch of Endor to bring our Samuel's spirit back. No darkened chamber, no entranced form, but the luminous, open air, the very soul of man, is its medium and manifestation. Its warning or congratulatory announcement is from no private table or secret wall, but the out-ringing notes of ten thousand belfries, — rising into mid-heaven, — with the shouts of men and the songs of children. Its return is not to communicate any obscure or worthless message, but to put words of clear guidance and holy fire on the lips of millions born since its earthly shape dissolved.

O spirit! sent to teach us love of country and devotion to human weal, return indeed! Thy work in thy own day and generation was well done, but thou art needed sorely still. Stay not wholly in heaven; but come back, commissioned by God to inspire thy successors, and the citizens of the land thou didst so love, with thy own justice, religious simplicity, and patriotic zeal!

C. A. B.

ART. II. — SHORT-HAND WRITING.*

WHEN we compare the neat pages of a modern book with the antiquated scrawls upon a hieratic papyrus, or even with the specimens of Chinese printing of our own time that occasionally find their way among us, we are apt to feel a little proud of our refined and civilized alphabet. If we attempt to trace any connection between our ordinary letters and the original hieroglyphics from which they were doubtless derived, we can hardly recognize the lineage in their features. The difference is as great as that between the Gothic and the Egyptian architecture.

Yet when we compare our alphabet with the requirements of our language and our social necessities, we find it barbarously imperfect. No improvement in it of any consequence has been made for several hundred years; and although our writing, for every purpose, especially for publication and for correspondence, has increased since that time a hundred fold, yet we are compelled to tire our fingers and spend our time over the same tedious forms that were in use then, and which are not much more brief than those used in the Latin and Greek civilization. There has, however, always been a protest of earnest and active minds against these cumbrous forms; and the history of this protest is the subject of the modest little volume whose title is given in the foot-note. Benn Pitman has here given a brief

* *The History of Short-hand, from the Time of Cicero down to the Invention of Phonography.* Edited and engraved on Stone, by BENN PITMAN. Cincinnati. 1856. pp. 80. 16mo. (In phonographic characters.)

compilation from the History of Short-hand, by his brother, Isaac Pitman, and from the more detailed history of J. H. Lewis.

The earliest short-hand of which we have any definite knowledge is that which is commonly attributed to Tiro, a freedman of Cicero, and which was practised by Roman Emperors, used by amanuenses for Roman authors, revised and improved by Cyprian for the benefit of Christians, and which finally fell into disuse with the Latin tongue itself. Other short-hands are alluded to by ancient authors, and it is said that the Greeks had a system superior to the Roman. But if there were other systems, they have perished, while in Tiro's characters there are whole books still extant, affording us abundant means of studying it in its details. And it is somewhat remarkable that in this, "the first system of short-hand of which we have any account, nearly all the principles of the stenographic art, as practised in our day, were then acknowledged; namely, the adoption of simpler forms than the common letters of the alphabet, making each letter the representative of some common word, leaving out such letters as could be spared, particularly the vowels, and sometimes joining the initial or other parts of several words, in order to express them by one series of forms, and, if possible, without removing the hand from the paper."

But Tiro's forms were simplifications of the common alphabet, and were therefore still complex; and, in order to make it possible to follow even the most deliberate speaker, it was necessary to introduce arbitrary signs for the prepositions, and for the terminations of number, gender, case, and person. Yet this was sufficient to make the system valuable, and it was employed to quite a large extent. It is alluded to in terms of commendation by Cicero, Plutarch, Ovid, and Ausonius.

A thousand years passed away, during which short-hand was apparently unknown, except that in the days of Louis the Pious a species of abbreviated writing, similar to Tiro's Latin short-hand, was used in the records of his government, and specimens are still extant. The French nation were, however, in the ninth century prone to superstition. They considered this swift writing magical, and it fell into disrepute; so that even to

this day short-hand is scarcely known in France, nor, indeed, anywhere upon the continent of Europe.

The earliest short-hand known in England was published in 1588, by Dr. Timothy Bright; and so clear has been the perception of the value of the art in that country, that, between that day and this, nearly two hundred systems of short-hand have been published, averaging almost one every year. Probably a large number have also been invented and taught privately to a few pupils, without being printed. Dr. Bright's system contained a list of five hundred of the most common words in the language, with an arbitrary character to express each word. The characters were simple and easy to be formed, but the burden to the memory in committing them so perfectly as to have them flow readily from the pen was intolerable, and not one man in ten thousand would have the courage to undertake it. Yet so urgent was the need of a short-hand felt, that, two years after the publication of Bright's system, Peter Bayles published another on the same plan of representing words by arbitrary signs.

The first real short-hand alphabet was published in 1602, by "John Willis, Bachelor in Divinity." For forty years this was a popular system, if we can call anything used by so few persons popular, and ten different editions were published. It was too imperfect to become truly popular. The letters were somewhat complicated, and, what is worse, some were formed of two others, so that you could not tell, for example, whether his letter *d* was a *d* or the compound *rs*, and could not distinguish *parse* from *pad*, *horse* from *hod*, except by the context. The complicated form of the letters rendered it necessary to introduce arbitrary characters for words, in order to expedite the writing. But this made it too burdensome for ordinary memories.

In 1654, Rich's improved system was published, and the Psalms and New Testament engraved and published to illustrate it. In Locke's treatise On Education, he says: "Short-hand, as I have been told known only in England, may perhaps be worthy of learning, both for despatch in what men write for their own memory, and concealment of what they would not have lie open to every eye." "Mr. Rich's, the best contrived of any I

have seen, may, as I think, by one who knows and construes grammar well, be made easier and shorter." This system, like others of that age, was chiefly used for preparing or noting down pulpit discourses, and Mr. Pitman gives us a curious list of arbitrary characters, devised to represent frequently occurring religious phrases. The letter G of his simplified alphabet, followed by a dot, stood for "to depart from God"; preceded by a dot, "to come to God"; crowned with two dots, "sons of God"; preceded by two dots, "saints of God"; followed by two dots, "daughters of God"; and so on, through fifteen or twenty phrases in which that name occurs. Hundreds of phrases of greater length than these, of frequent occurrence in Puritan preaching, were in like manner provided with arbitrary symbols. This folly of providing arbitrary symbols for sentences has continued in nearly all systems of short-hand, even into the nineteenth century.

A further improvement upon Rich's system was made in 1695, by W. A. Addy. The whole of the Bible was engraved and published in this short-hand, which was used and recommended by Doddridge.

In 1672, William Mason made even greater changes in Rich's system. Thirty-five years afterwards, he published a system of his own, entitled "*La Plume Volante*." It consisted of four parts,—an alphabet of simple forms, symbolical characters, signifying or suggesting the words they stood for, abbreviations, and arbitrary characters. In 1751, Thomas Gurney republished Mason's system, with improvements; such as the omission of some of the arbitrary characters which referred to religion, and the introduction of such as were suitable for legal and parliamentary proceedings. This adoption of Mason's system by Gurney, and the monopoly which the Gurney family have held, since his day, of reporting for the government in England, has caused Mason's system to be used there down to the present time; and even in this country, although several of much greater value have since been invented.

The Gurney family have in their service about a dozen experienced reporters, who employ beginners, or assistants, to copy their notes into common hand. They are engaged during the sessions of Parliament in taking down notes of testimony, and pleas before the various

Parliamentary committees. The Gurneys receive from the government regular rates in proportion to the work done; their gross receipts being from a half to three quarters of a million of dollars per annum. Of this, from fifty to a hundred thousand dollars is net profit. If to this we add the cost of reporting the debates, borne by the London newspapers, and of reporting cases in the courts of law, &c., we can hardly estimate the total annual earnings of reporters in London at less than three millions of dollars. When we remember that it is only one century since the government took reports of the sittings of committees, and less than eighty years since a regular report of the debates was allowed to be taken in any way, this must certainly appear to be a rapid increase in the practice of this occult art.

In the year 1758 an edition of Mason's system, much altered, was published by a Mr. Angell, on whose list of subscribers appears the name of Samuel Johnson. In Boswell's *Life* "it is mentioned that a short-hand writer named Angell once called on the Doctor to request him to write a preface to a work on short-hand which he was about publishing. Having professed his ability to write, from another's reading, every word that should be uttered, a book was reached, and the experiment tried, but the stenographer failed to perform what he had undertaken; whereupon the Doctor is said to have declared his belief that to write as fast as a person read was an impossibility." It nevertheless appears that he subscribed for the book, and that he uttered his favorable opinion of the art in the following words:—"Short-hand, on account of its great and general utility, merits a much higher rank among the arts and sciences than is commonly allotted to it. Its usefulness is not confined to any particular science or profession, but is universal; it is therefore by no means unworthy the attention and study of men of genius and erudition."

In 1767, the system of John Byrom, A. M., F. R. S., was posthumously published. Byrom had for many years taught it in private circles, and advocated the use of a reformed alphabet, with zeal and ability. He endeavored to establish stenographic societies, and Mr. Pitman gives the following extract from a speech of this author. "Who would not wish to see a rational princi-

ple prevail in our English writing, and to see the words of our language freed from that ridiculous superfluity of idle letters with which perverse custom has loaded them, —from that empty abundance of useless characters which makes foreigners imagine that we use a most unutterable jargon, and places many difficulties in the way of our own natives? We must be content to bear the reproach, the unjust reproach of Gothic barbarians, till we proceed on the maxim of the Emperor Augustus, and advance so far at least towards short-hand as to write our words as we pronounce them; that it may no longer be the main difficulty in learning our language, to know what characters express what sounds, and upon what occasions letters are inserted to represent no sounds at all."

The next great advance in short-hand was the publication of Taylor's system, in 1786. This system has been more extensively practised than perhaps any other, and more frequently pirated by unscrupulous authors and publishers. Another popular system is that of J. H. Lewis, first published in 1815, by the author of a very learned and detailed history of short-hand.

We have now mentioned the principal systems of short-hand, which the English spirit of religious freedom, and in later times of political freedom, has called into being. And it is not without some pride in our English ancestry that we remember that the modern history of short-hand is almost wholly confined to England. But none of these systems were entirely satisfactory; they answered the purpose of reporting sermons in the seventeenth century, of reporting Parliamentary debates in the eighteenth; but they were too difficult to learn, too illegible even to adepts, to be used in the familiar correspondence of the nineteenth century. The leading idea in all of them has been to provide for swiftness in writing; legibility has been consulted only enough to make reading possible. But it is manifest that, in order to have a short-hand fitted for ordinary correspondence, indeed, for any common use in life, it must be as legible as common writing.

In order to combine the greatest legibility with the greatest speed in writing, seven distinct principles must be recognized. The characters must not represent words, nor the common spelling; but must, like the earliest al-

phabets, represent the elementary sounds of the language. These characters must be of the simplest possible form. From a careful study of the language, the relative frequency of the elementary sounds must be discovered, and the most easily formed characters be assigned to the most frequently recurring sounds. The most frequently occurring double consonants, such as the combinations with the liquids *l* and *r*, must be provided with a simple system of compound forms. There must be a mode by which vowels can be inserted or omitted, at the pleasure of the writer, without altering the general appearance of the word. The most common words of the language must be systematically represented by simply writing a single prominent sound of the word. Lastly, it must be possible to write common phrases without lifting up the pen.

In 1837, Isaac Pitman, of Bath, England, published his system of "Stenographic Sound-hand." The title was afterwards changed to "Phonography," and in 1840 the alphabet was materially improved. So popular has this system been in England, that a hundred and thirty thousand copies of his treatise have been already sold; and in this country there has been a proportionate popularity. Several American writers have rearranged and republished Pitman's system, and his brother, the compiler of this "History of Short-hand," has sold eight thousand copies of his manual of Phonography within the last eight months. We mention these facts as being in themselves evidence that Phonography has supplied, better than any previous system, the want that had been felt for more than two centuries. It fulfils the seven essentials of a legible and rapid short-hand; it is essentially phonetic, "the" and "and" being the only words in the language for which arbitrary characters are provided, and the phrase "of the" the only one for which it furnishes a symbolic representation; the characters for elementary sounds are the simplest possible; the most readily formed stand for the most frequent sounds; there are very neat and effective modes for grouping consonants; vowels can be inserted with great accuracy, or can be wholly omitted; all common phrases can be written without lifting the pen; and all words of frequent occurrence are readily noted by their prominent sounds; so that practically the easiest way for a beginner to decipher rapid

phonographic writing is to sound aloud the letters given, and his ear will at once suggest the omitted ones. The rapidity of phonographic writing is greater than that of any known short-hand, and its legibility is incomparably greater, inasmuch as there is never any difficulty in recognizing the consonant sounds, and the vowels may be inserted in cases of anticipated ambiguity. Its rapidity is so great that many phonographers are now able to stand the test in which Angell failed; and its legibility is fully equal to that of common long-hand.

In Charles Dickens's tale of "David Copperfield" we have a painful picture of the difficulty of learning the older systems of stenography. But from the strictly phonetic character of Pitman's system, it is very readily acquired, so that it is perfectly practicable to have it taught in our grammar, or even our primary schools; in some of our public high schools, it has already been introduced. The difficulty to a child in learning to read and write Pitman's phonography is not half as great as that of learning to write and spell the ordinary handwriting of our language.

Two years ago the Board of Controllers of the Public Schools in Philadelphia passed, without debate, a resolution forbidding any further instruction in phonography to be given in the High School of that city. The friends of the study petitioned the Board to appoint a committee of inquiry into the propriety of rescinding the resolution. A committee was appointed and testimony brought forward conclusively showing the valuable fruits of the study to the pupils, both in the school and after graduating. The resolution was rescinded; and the committee recommended the Board to introduce phonography also into other schools.

Our purpose in the present article has been, not only to give a few interesting facts in the history of the English art of short-hand, but also to present to our readers the general question suggested by this recommendation of that committee, — What place should short-hand, since this invention of Pitman's phonetic scheme, hold in the general education of children?

For our part, we have no hesitation in saying that every child in our common schools should be taught to read and write this short-hand at the age when he is

usually taught to write common hand. In support of this view we have no argument to offer. It seems to us a self-evident matter. Here is a system of short-hand, thoroughly tested, shown to be capable of contractions which enable it to be written as fast as words can be distinctly articulated, and requiring in its most extended and elementary form only one fourth the time required for long-hand, — easy to learn, and perfectly legible. No young person can afford to be ignorant of such an art. No parent has given his child a good education until he has taught him how to use it. No persons are really ready to write letters of friendship or business, memoranda, books, newspaper articles, sermons, lectures, or orations, until they can write phonetic short-hand. No student is ready to go to the university or to professional schools until he is thus prepared to preserve the oral instructions he may there receive. No person is ready to enjoy public lectures, or sermons, if they contain facts and valuable thoughts, unless he can note down as much as he chooses, without labor or distraction of attention from the discourse. In short, we are not justified in withholding from the children of the Commonwealth this art, so valuable in saving time and labor, when it is so easy to give it to them. The pecuniary value of phonography, as shown by the facts we have given respecting London reporters, and which might be abundantly substantiated by American examples, would alone be a sufficient reason for its general diffusion; but like the daguerreotype, the telegraph, the railroad, cheap postage, and other inventions of our age, its chief and peculiar value lies in its moral effects. It is a new bond to unite us closer in bands of brotherhood. It enables us to pour out to a distant friend our thoughts and feelings, fresh, warm, and unrestrained, as if into his living ear. The half-hour which we devote to writing him a letter, instead of giving him a few hasty words, will enable us to send him the equivalent of a dozen letter pages. It is a fact of some significance that Pitman's "Phonography" was published on the 1st of January, 1840, as a "companion to the penny-post" then first established in England. They have been companions from that day to this, and the great increase of correspondence in England, since that time, has been partly owing to their combined influence.

T. H.

ART. III. — UNITARIANISM AND ORTHODOXY ON GOD AND CHRIST.

THE second of the three great, comprehensive doctrinal issues to which, as we have inferred, the controversy between the Unitarians and the Orthodox has been reduced, after an half-century of earnest and various discussion, now invites our attention. Our aim is to sum up its prominent points, to concentrate its scattered disputes, and to seek the results to which either party may have been brought, so far as they involve concession, or qualification, or a reassertion of the original grounds of the controversy.

The controversy centres upon this question, — Is Jesus Christ presented to us in the New Testament as possessing the underived honors of the Godhead, as claiming by himself and by his Apostles the supreme prerogative of Deity, and therefore as an object of worship and prayer, and of our ultimate religious dependence? Orthodoxy answers this question in the affirmative, Unitarianism answers it in the negative.

In strictness of construction, this one point of doctrinal difference might be regarded as constituting the sole issue which divides the two parties. For controversial discussion has made it evident that the doctrine of the Deity of Christ has been maintained chiefly on account of the relations which are presumed by Orthodoxy to exist between this and its two other fundamental doctrines, — the depravity of human nature, and a vicarious sacrifice made to God for the redemption of men. Orthodoxy affirms, that nothing short of an infinite expiation could suffice to redeem our race from the consequences of Adam's fall; therefore Christ, the Redeemer, must be God. Orthodoxy affirms, that only the Being against whom the offence of sin is committed could provide an adequate penalty for it, as it required an infinite penalty, and therefore the sacrifice made for it was the sacrifice of God. It is thus that the doctrine of the Deity of Christ has been supposed to be vital to the Christian system, as alone consistent with its other doctrines concerning God and man, and the relations of enmity and the proffered terms of reconciliation between them. The

doctrine having been thus pronounced essential to the theological exposition of the Christian faith, it is made to carry with it, not only such weight of authority as it is claimed to derive from its positive announcement in the Scriptures, but also such strong incidental support and warrant as attach to it from its inter-relations with other so-called fundamental doctrines. The bias of error on any single point touching this matter may thus prejudice a fair view of either one or of all the great elements of the Christian scheme. It is the very decided, and, we must believe, the very fairly reached and the very intelligent conviction of Unitarians, that the supposed exigencies of the Orthodox system are to the full as constraining a reason with its disciples for holding to the doctrine of the Deity of Christ, as is the force of direct argument for it from the text of Scripture. If this bias be real, it must needs be very strong. Orthodoxy, therefore, proclaims that the Deity of Christ enters into the very substance of the Gospel, and Orthodoxy commits itself to that doctrine.

The doctrine of the Deity of Christ enters into the more general doctrine of the Trinity of persons in the Godhead, and is, indeed, the chief element in this doctrine, as the process necessary for developing the Deity of Christ requires a previous recognition of a possible complexity in the Godhead. The doctrine of the Trinity is, that in the one God are united three distinct, co-equal, and co-eternal persons, revealed to us by the titles of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. What an untold amount of thinking, reasoning, arguing, asserting, and denying has been spent upon this theme! When we regard it as a matter of mere speculation, in dealing with which words must for the most part stand in place of ideas, we may be impatient that in this short life of man, where his zeal and strength are all needed for great Christian duties, he should have bestowed so much of thought and interest upon a metaphysical abstraction. But when we regard the issue as one that has been raised to be decided by a most careful, thorough, intelligent, and reverential interpretation of the New Testament, we are the more reconciled to the spending of so much study upon it, because of the possible incidental benefits resulting to our Scriptural knowledge and cul-

ture. And yet once more, rising to a still higher view, when we look at the issue here raised as it bears directly or indirectly upon the whole doctrinal substance of revelation, our impatience yields, — we become more than reconciled to the discussion as it offers to guide us to its various and momentous relations to all Christian truth. We accept the subject, as one alike of speculative, Scriptural, and practical interest.

As we enter anew upon this ancient topic of acrimonious strife, of ardent controversy, and of perplexed debate, let it be with due preparation of thought and feeling. High abstractions, profound speculations, and themes of mystery are comprehended in this discussion, as well as the simple verities which have a solemn interest for the unlearned, who wish to believe as Christians. It is no subject for our presumption to deal with, nor for our dogmatism to decide. If we choose to concern ourselves with a question as to the mode of the Divine existence, or if we feel that an inquiry on this point seriously involves the clearness and the correctness of our doctrinal belief, we must remember that the subject is wholly unlike those which relate to our own characters and experience; so that our familiar methods and processes, and certainly our bold and impatient spirit of curious investigation, will no longer serve us. Men will interest themselves with questions about the origin of this globe, the date when human life began upon it, and the time appointed for its dissolution. Men will even discuss and argue the probabilities as to whether the other orbs of heaven, within our view, are occupied by beings in any respect like ourselves. Very slender are our grounds for the adoption of theories, and very meagre are our results after debating such questions. And yet, as these relate to matters of sense, to physical operations, to mathematical calculations, and fall within the province of exact science, we have certain resources for dealing with them with considerable satisfaction. We can hammer out from the earth's rocky breast some of her secrets; we can put to the test the question whether the fires of the sun are wasting; we can push forth the telescopic tube and dilate with our lenses the compass of the planetary orbs, and put the heavens well-nigh out of countenance by the boldness of our own gaze,

as we pronounce upon what nutriment of fog, or flame, or stone, or ice, the inhabitants of those orbs must respectively subsist. But a question concerning the mode of the Divine existence is remote from all these, and all other similarly profound and vast questions. By searching we cannot find out God. We cannot hope that any of the incomprehensibilities which invest him will yield to our reasoning. We have never seen it affirmed, we are confident it never can be proved, that the effort of faith which is essential to a conception of God will be one whit relieved or facilitated by conceiving of him under the form of a Trinity. The vast and awful solemnity remains still to confound or to dazzle us. We find a warrant for intermeddling with this loftiest of all themes,—the existence of God,—in the fact that revelation addresses it to our faith through our reverent and intelligent thought. But all questions as to *the mode* of the Divine existence are voluntarily opened by us. These are not forbidden, and certainly, if one of the great purposes of revelation was to disclose to us the doctrine of the Trinity, and if the whole scheme of Christian truth centres upon that doctrine, it becomes as legitimate, indeed as importunate, a theme of thought and interest, and, under proper conditions, of controversy, as any that can engage our minds.

Let us understand, too, how the subject before us has come to enter into controversy. The most superficial reader of church history is made aware that the controversy, instead of being one of recent origin, has followed down the fortunes of our faith from a very early age. He learns, also, that the party differences and strifes which the controversy from its beginning excited, called together numerous general and local councils of Christian ministers, were brought before imperial tribunals, and disposed of, or at least taken cognizance of, by civil edicts. He discovers that the disputed terms of the controversy have been blazoned on the banners of contending armies, and have been authenticated, not only by the legitimate processes of Scripture criticism and fair argument, but by the ruder methods of fines, prisons, banishments, excommunications, and executions. The popular notion among the uninformed members of orthodox sects, favored often by the uncandid authorities on

which the ignorant and prejudiced rely, is, that the plain doctrine of Scripture is Trinitarianism; that the Saviour and his Apostles taught this doctrine and founded their churches upon it; that the early Fathers and all other Christians unanimously believed it; that no question for long ages attached to it; that the whole Church down to quite a recent time agreed upon it; and that only a daring heretic here and there has ever doubted or assailed the doctrine. The Unitarian, on the other hand, is perfectly satisfied that the teaching of Scripture is in complete opposition to Trinitarianism; that violence must be done to the text in order to support it; that the Apostles never recognized, never even heard of it; that such of the Fathers as in their confused and inconsistent teachings give it more or less of their countenance, derived it from unscriptural sources, from previous philosophical fancies; that the doctrine from its first announcement was controverted, and that it is itself a heresy whose origin and whole way of strife are thoroughly known to us.

We select, out of a multitude of statements of the doctrine of the Trinity lying at our hand, that which is given in the Confession of Faith adopted by the New England churches in 1680, as follows:—

“There is but One only living and true God. In the Unity of the Godhead there be Three Persons, of one substance, power, and eternity: God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost. Which doctrine of the Trinity is the foundation of all our communion with God, and comfortable dependence upon him.”

We might exhaust all our space in giving a series of statements and definitions of this doctrine; and then we might occupy twice the number of pages in simply arranging the various modifications of conception and belief which have marked the chronological history, or the symbolical adoption, or the heretical aberrations from any one of the several orthodox formulas of this doctrine. A volume which should faithfully present the abundant materials of that nature for filling it, might well pass among us for a relic rescued from Babel. The doctrine of the Trinity is confessedly incomprehensible, and many readers of the controversies about it must feel a profound regret that it was not allowed from the first to be inex-

pressible likewise. Indeed, the question is a fair one, Has not the doctrine really proved itself to be inexpressible? It is this great variety of terms and forms of speech used for announcing the doctrine, and the failure of all of them to leave an intelligible idea in the mind, that first excites the anxious distrust of many persons to whom this doctrine is presented as "the foundation of all our communion with God." We find even Calvin objecting to the use of the word *persons* for defining the distinctions in the Godhead. He called the word *barbarous*; he regretted its use; he wished that some other phraseology might be substituted for announcing the doctrinal formula. The excellent Dr. Watts called the doctrine of "*three persons*" a "strange and perplexing notion." A great deal of ingenuity has been exercised by intelligent but bewildered theologians for devising a simpler, a more intelligible, a less self-contradictory, and a "more Scriptural" method for stating the doctrine. Evidently some of the best minds have been exercised upon it in vain. The unanimous decision of all competent teachers who hold and try to communicate the doctrine now is, that when the word *person* is used to express each of the Three in the One God, it does not have the same sense that is attached to it in any one or in all of the other uses of the word. A very worthy volunteer in the work of teaching a doctrine of which he could make no intelligible expression, after confounding his own thought, fairly gave over the more dignified and professional speech of his calling, and avowed that it was "necessary to believe in *Three Somewhats* as equally divine."

This is an amazing perplexity to be put at the very threshold of an entrance to the Christian doctrines. We cannot but feel a strong persuasion that, if all the bewildering and confounding speculations which have attached to this doctrine—and which, while they have embarrassed the reception of it in any intelligible form, have also established the supposed necessity of accepting it in some form—could be wholly set aside, Christians would come to the discussion of such a theory in a far more candid state of mind. They are now prepossessed and prejudiced on this subject. We cannot believe for one moment, that, if it were left to this age and the present

resources of speculative conception in religious philosophy to fashion forth a dogmatic statement concerning the Divine nature, any such notion as Trinitarianism includes would find acceptance, even if it should find a suggestion or an advocate. All the attempts which are made to state the doctrine more intelligibly or more simply have resulted in such refined or sublimated metaphysics, that we almost forget the mathematical puzzle of the original formula, while we turn back to it as for a sort of relief.

There has been, however, one essential step of real progress secured in the discussion of this subject. Those who will turn over the voluminous records of the Trinitarian controversy, as conducted by English divines in the last century, will find it doubly and trebly perplexed beyond its own intrinsic difficulties, if that be possible, by a complicated and intricate network of definitions, schemes, and secondary issues. If any one should feel compelled to trace the course of opinion in all its windings and relations between the starting-point of doctrine as an accepted creed defined it, and the attempts of religious teachers to give it an exposition conformed to the utterances of their own individual views, he would have need to bury himself in heaps of antiquated books. As, for instance, after mastering Dr. Samuel Clarke's modification of the doctrinal Trinity, he would have to master Dr. Waterland's refutation of that modification, and this would be a specimen task of a work which would occupy a long life. But as this sort of rubbish has accumulated in masses in sight of which heart and flesh absolutely quail, it has come to be understood that henceforward no one is expected to meddle with it. He would be a high offender who should venture to open anew the specific issues of the modes and schemes which our fathers felt compelled to entertain. Our recent discussions have on this account been greatly simplified, and will become even yet more simple as they become wholly Scriptural.

The doctrine of the Trinity has indeed been so sublimated and refined, and so reduced in the rigidity of its old technical terms, that it may now be said to offer itself in some quite inoffensive and unobjectionable shapes to that large number of persons who feel bound to accept it in some shape, and yet are aware that in full mental

honesty they can accept it only in the least dogmatic and most accommodated shape. Though for our own part we can connect no intelligible idea with such an assertion as Dr. Bushnell makes, for example, when he says that God has been "eternally *threeing* himself," we can recognize the fact that genius and fancy and irrepressible restlessness of mind are determined to festoon and array a dogma whose angular sharpness and whose barrenness of look would offend. If we could only find any occasion for believing a Trinity in the Godhead, in any form of the dogma, Archbishop Whately might largely help us to make the very little effort which is all that is left as essential. In some of the modern shapings of the doctrine, we confess that there is no reason for rejecting it which will weigh against the slightest good reason for receiving it. But that slightest reason for receiving it is the very thing which fails us: it is wholly lacking.

We have said that the chief reason for asserting the doctrine of the Trinity is that it may include or cover the doctrine of the Deity of Christ. Frankly, and with general consent, is this admission yielded by Orthodox writers. Professor Stuart says: "All difficulties in respect to the doctrine of the Trinity are essentially connected with proving or disproving the divinity [he means *the Deity*] of Christ."* "When this [the Deity of Christ] is admitted or rejected, no possible objection can be felt to admitting or rejecting the doctrine of the Trinity."† The plain inference from such statements evidently is, that the Deity of a *third* personality in the Godhead (the Holy Spirit) is affirmed and insisted upon, in order to secure and make good the Deity of a *second* personality in the Godhead. The Holy Spirit is admitted to the prerogative of a distinct *personality* in order to facilitate that distribution of the essence of the Godhead which will assign to Jesus Christ the rank of the Supreme. And this device is adopted, because into some of the texts which are needed inferentially to confirm the assumption that Christ is God, the Holy Spirit enters by equally distinct mention.

It is even so. There is no other reason for asserting

* Letters to Dr. Channing, 3d edition, p. 45.

† Ibid., p. 59.

the separate personality of the Holy Spirit, except as that will bear upon the claim for Christ of the underived and self-subsisting prerogative of Deity. The weakest point in all the arguments in support or defence of Trinitarianism, is that which attempts to prove from Scripture the personality of the Holy Spirit. Yet weak as this point in such arguments always is, laboring at the very start, made essential by an indirect instead of a direct and independent necessity, and requiring a most tortuous and unsatisfactory dealing with the phraseology of Scripture, it is the very point on which Orthodox divines spend the least of their strength, as if conscious of their weakness. The personality of the Spirit is expected to come in by indulgent construction after the divisibility of the Godhead has been affirmed for the sake of sharing its attributes between Christ and the Father. So obvious is it to all minds not prejudiced by a dogma, that the term Holy Spirit, wherever it is used in the Bible, may always have its whole meaning recognized when it is regarded as expressing the agency or influence of God's spiritual operations. We might as well attempt to claim a distinct personality for the Wisdom of God, or the Power of God, or the Fear of God, or the Love of God, as to claim it for the Spirit of God. God is himself a SPIRIT; that is the very loftiest and fullest title by which the Saviour made him an object of our faith. All the agency of God is spiritual, though for convenience of distinction we generally withdraw that epithet from uses relating to God's agency in the physical world, and confine it to the methods of his operation on his intelligent creation. The advocate of Trinitarianism thinks that he visits upon us a perfectly overwhelming argument, when he gathers texts from the Bible to prove that Divine attributes of Creation, Omnipresence, Wisdom, Might, and operative energy are assigned to the Spirit. It would be strange if they were not so assigned. We are amazed that any one should offer these manifest inferences of simple truth, the conditions which constitute the great truth that "God is a Spirit," in proof of the astounding dogma that one third part of the Godhead is Spirit. God is himself a Spirit. Now if we distinguish the Spirit as a divided personality in the Godhead, what crowning attribute have we left for the Father? The

device would seem to us puerile, if it did not appear monstrous, which would distinguish, not the agency, but the *nature* of God by a division, or a duplication, of his essence into God the Father as one person, and God the Spirit as another person. How can a reader of Scripture fail to recognize the fact that the Spirit of God is itself but one of many terms used for expressing the operating, penetrating, and sanctifying energy and influence of the Supreme Being? If Scripture, in deference to the straits of our limited power of intellectual conception, gives us several terms for defining the methods and the attributes of the One Supreme, shall we seize upon them, and, instead of using them for the purpose for which they are given, turn them back upon the Unity of the Godhead, to confound it with a plurality?

It is at this point, of course, that one who has been educated under this Trinitarian dogma, and is seeking to test its truth, or one who is brought into debate with a professed believer in it, will begin to raise the question whether the Scriptures teach, or the Christian scheme includes, any doctrine of a Trinity of co-equal and co-eternal Persons in the One God. Though the doctrine is advanced chiefly as a help towards the proof of another doctrine of the Deity of Christ, we object to the doctrine, in the first place, on grounds wholly distinct from its relation to that article of the Trinitarian faith. We object, in general, to the doctrine of the Trinity, that it is an invention of the human mind, for which the Scriptures afford no warrant; and that its prominent effect is to introduce into the system of truths taught in the Scriptures an extraneous, artificial, and perplexing dogma, wholly inconsistent with, utterly unlike to, the acknowledged and accepted doctrines of Scripture. We do not object, as is often charged upon us, that the doctrine involves a mystery. On the contrary, we object that the doctrine when urged upon us as a mystery misuses and perverts the word *mystery*, and avails itself of the acknowledged and allowed credibility of what the word *mystery* properly signifies, to propose to us something quite unlike a mystery; namely, a statement that is absurd, so far as it is intelligible, and that is inconsistent in the very terms which it brings together for making its proposition. We accept all such religious truths as can

fairly be covered by the word *mystery*. We live religiously upon such truths; they are the nutriment of our spirits,—of infinitely larger account to us than anything we can learn or understand. We are made familiar, by every moment's exercise of close thought, with the necessity of accepting mysteries, and we know very well what a sensation and sentiment they send down into the innermost chambers of our being. But we are conscious of feeling quite a different sensation and sentiment when this doctrine of the Trinity is proposed to us under the covert of a mystery. Quite another quality in it than that of its mysterious character at once suggests itself to us. Its utter absurdity, its attempt to say something which it fails to say *intelligibly*, simply because it cannot say it *truly*, is the first painful consciousness attaching to the doctrine. If the doctrine be true, then it is the only doctrine of the Gospel which causes the same sort of puzzling, confounding, bewildering effect on the mind that seeks to entertain it. It sets us into the frame into which we fall when any one proposes to us an enigma, or a conundrum. It lays at the very threshold of the Christian faith an obstacle at which we stumble. It requires of us a summoning of resources, or a concession, a yielding up, of our natural desire for intelligent apprehension, as if to be addressed by some profound truth, when in fact we are only bewildered. The state of mind into which we should be driven by an attempt to accept the doctrine of the Trinity as fundamental to the Gospel, would be of no service to us in dealing with the real doctrines of the Gospel. The doctrine is not homogeneous with the contents of revelation; it is unevangelical and anti-evangelical in all its characteristic elements. Just where we need the clearest exercise of our thoughts, and wish to accommodate our ideas to our theme, and to engage the orderly action of all our faculties, we are beclouded and staggered, and thrown into a maze. Has not our whole theology been made to suffer, by thus taking its start from a metaphysical subtilty which confuses the mind, instead of from one august truth which lifts and solemnizes the spirit?

How much of sublime and penetrating power did the Hebrew faith carry with it in the announcement, "Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God is One Lord!"

Would we as Christians sacrifice anything of this majestic utterance by substituting for it, "Hear, O Christian, the Lord thy God is one God in a Trinity of Persons"? The Trinitarian, however, assures us that his belief of a triplicate personality in the Godhead does not impair his belief in the Divine Unity. How inoperative then must be his Trinitarian belief, unless, as is probably the case, the idea which he has in his mind fails to find expression in any phraseology that can give a verbal announcement of the doctrine of the Trinity. The purest attraction, the most spiritual warrant of revealed religion, is the oneness of God. It is by that distinction that revealed religion stands loftily and simply elevated above all earth-born religions. Yet this high distinction is at once impaired, and in some measure neutralized, by a doctrine of tri-personality in unity. Long use has accustomed us to the assertion of this doctrine in words, but none the less is it chargeable with an influence prejudicial to the best exercise of our faculties upon the great truths of Gospel revelation. A question for which this age is fully ready, instructed as it has been by so much experience in the past, is this, and it is a question which earnestly addresses itself to earnest persons in all communions:—Cannot full justice be done to the Christian scheme, and to the orderly connection of every one of its dependent truths, without any use of this doctrine of the Trinity? Do we need it? Can we not dispense with it, and yet be Christian believers?

Having thus begun the statement of our objections to this scholastic doctrine of the Trinity, by impugning it as unintelligible and confounding, not enlightening or solemnizing, we are led on through a series of valid and strengthening reasons, which amount, in our own mind, to an unanswerable refutation of it.

Though Christians have insisted upon the fundamental character of this doctrine, they find it utterly impossible to state it in the language of Scripture. A human formula is necessarily the vehicle for its expression. Though the Scriptures, as we often affirm, have a peculiar directness and simplicity of phrase, and excel all other forms of literature in the conciseness and vigor with which they express truths and precepts, they never-

theless fail to furnish one single sentence which can be used in a creed to announce the Trinity. Yes, this so-called primary and all-essential article of the Christian faith,—“the foundation of all our communion with God,”—cannot be uttered in any Divine oracle, but must look to uninspired men for an expression. No announcement of it can be quoted from the lips of prophet or apostle, or from Him who spake as never man spake. A piecemeal selection of the elements which are to be wrought up into the doctrine must be gathered from isolated sentences and phrases of the Bible, and even then one of the most familiar and well-defined words of our language—the word *person*, which is already appropriated past changing to mark the separate individuality of one complete being—must be perverted to a wholly new use, while they who thus pervert it profess to dislike it, and aver that it wholly fails to convey the idea that is in their minds. Are they sure that there is any real, well-developed idea in their minds, seeing that they cannot express it without perverting language, and even then are forced to confess that they fail to express it. Are they sure, too, that the idea which they wish to express is one received from the Scriptures? Does Scripture bid us believe, as a fundamental, a doctrine which Scripture itself does not announce in its own “form of sound words”?

Again, a fundamental doctrine ought to be emphatically announced and constantly reiterated. Now all candid persons must admit that no stress, no prominence, no directness or earnestness of statement, is made of this doctrine in the Scriptures corresponding to the emphatic and pre-eminent place assigned to it in all Orthodox creeds. Considering too with what strenuous positiveness and reiteration the Unity of God is there asserted, ought there not to have been a balancing of this assertion by as emphatic a proclamation of the Trinity? This triplicity of constitution of the Godhead was certainly a new doctrine to the world. It was new to the Jews. It demanded, therefore, at least one announcement from each Apostle, and each Evangelist, in terms as clear and strong as the resources and capacities of human language will admit. What is most remarkable under this head of objection is the fact, that, on the

occasions upon which we should have looked for the most distinct statement of the doctrine, it was held back. The baptismal formula, which, unlike as it is to the formula of the creed, does gather together the three component elements of the Trinity, stops far short of the assertion that three personalities are mentioned,—and that such three make up the one God of the Gospel. The most natural and unprejudiced construction of that baptismal formula views it as announcing a Gospel message from God the Father, through Christ his beloved Son, attested by spiritual evidences from God's Holy Spirit. What an opportunity was there here for the statement—what an imperative demand was there for the statement, if fundamentally true, and of paramount importance—of the full doctrine of the Trinity! But it is not here! After the crucifixion, the resurrection, and the ascension of Jesus, after the miraculous illumination of the Apostles on the Feast of Pentecost, one signal event occurred. The religion which, with its author, the Jewish rulers supposed had been committed to a hopeless tomb, was resuscitated. Instead of having heard the last of it, the world was now to begin to listen to a new and unceasing proclamation of it. The opportunity for making its first re-announcement came to Peter after an astounding manifestation of Divine power. And what an opportunity there was, what a pressing and emergent necessity and demand there was, for proclaiming the doctrine which Christians now make fundamental in their creed! We should look and listen to hear Peter announcing to the Jewish rulers that in the person of Jesus Christ they had rejected and condemned one who shared the underived attributes of their own Jehovah. But no! What says he? This:—"Ye men of Israel, hear these words: Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you by miracles and wonders and signs, which God did by him in the midst of you, as ye yourselves also know; him, being delivered by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God, ye have taken, and by wicked hands have crucified and slain: whom God hath raised up." (Acts ii. 22-24.) And on how many other occasions through Judæa, Asia Minor, and at Rome, on the first promulgation of our faith, was it incumbent on its preachers to have put foremost its foun-

dation doctrine! But if the Trinity be such a doctrine, they did not make one single statement of it which will serve the use of the creed. And now what can be offered in frankness, and in the thorough simplicity and ingenuousness of true candor, to meet the force of this objection?

Another fact most significant of the unscriptural character of the doctrine of the Trinity is, that the texts which are quoted to support it are peculiarly embarrassed with doubts and questions as to authenticity, exactness of rendering, and signification. The three prominent proof-texts most likely to be first adduced, and which promise at first sight to be most available, are the least reliable. Of these three favorite passages with Trinitarians, on which so much scholarship and ingenious reasoning and pleading have been expended, the foremost one is that in 1 John v. 7. This text comes nearest of any in the Bible to a statement of the Trinitarian formula, though still falling short of the statement by all the distance of the difference between *Three agreeing in One*, and *Three being One*. Yet this text is now discredited as wholly without authority, as a corruption, an interpolation, foisted into the record. Every Christian scholar, of whatever denomination, competent to pass an instructed opinion on the matter, admits that St. John did not write that sentence, and that the words were most unwarrantably introduced into a manuscript written some centuries after the Apostolic age, the crowning proof of the fact being that no one of the Fathers quotes the text. Now let us at least have the benefit of this allowance, — *that the only sentence which is acknowledged to be spurious in the New Testament as we read it, was introduced and is retained for the sake of its supposed announcement and support of the doctrine of the Trinity*. That text is to us a type of the unscriptural origin and the unscriptural character of the doctrine.

The second of these favorite Trinitarian proof-texts is 1 Timothy iii. 16: "Great is the mystery of godliness: God was manifest in the flesh," &c. As the passage stands, it neither presents the slightest embarrassment to the Unitarian, nor affords the slightest support to Trinitarianism. But with the gloss and the forced construction put upon the passage, the word *mystery* is interpret-

ed as signifying, not a disclosure of something before concealed or unknown, but as implying an announcement of an occult and impenetrable secret; and the word *godliness*, which means simply *piety*, is regarded as designating the *Godhead*, or the mode of the Divine Existence. Our readers are probably for the most part well informed as to the question of scholarly criticism opened on the text, whether a very ancient Greek manuscript has the character *o* or *o*, and whether, as a consequence, we should read in the English, "*Which* was manifest in the flesh," or "*God* was manifest in the flesh." As the Unitarian may claim, on grounds of criticism, that the passage should read, "Great is that marvel of piety which was manifested in the flesh," so also the Unitarian may consent to withdraw all such criticism from the text, and read it as others read it, while he asks, with some considerable earnestness, what shadow of argument can be drawn from it in support of the Trinity. Are Unitarians to be forbidden to believe that "God was manifested in the flesh," or that Christ was a marvellous exhibition of piety?*

The third of these favorite Trinitarian proof-texts is Acts xx. 28: "Feed the Church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood." The question raised by variations in manuscripts, and other sources of critical information, is whether we should read "the Church of God" or "the Church of the Lord." Our aim here is not to present the merits on either side of the results which criticism reaches on these texts, but simply to show that the passages which Trinitarians would be most likely to quote are the very ones which are most embarrassed or dubious in their authority or their signification. Professor Samuel Davidson, an Orthodox critic whose conclusions are among the most recent ones which have been offered to scholars, after a most candid arbitration

* Professor Stuart, in the *Biblical Repository*, 1832, p. 79, says: "I cannot feel that the contest on the subject of the reading can profit one side so much, or harm the other so much, as disputants respecting the doctrine of the Trinity have supposed. Whoever attentively studies John xvii. 20-26, 1 John i. 3, ii. 5, iv. 15, 16, and other passages of the like tenor, will see that 'God might be manifest' in the person of Christ, without the necessary implication of the proper divinity [Deity] of the Saviour; at least, that the phraseology of Scripture does admit of other constructions besides this; and other ones, moreover, which are not forced."

between the disputed words in the Greek which give the two renderings, decides strongly in favor of "the Church of the Lord." *

But what a dreary and repelling task it is to go over the New Testament, or the whole Bible, to hunt out words, phrases, and sentences that may constructively or inferentially be turned to the support of a doctrine which ought to lie patent on the page. It would seem as if Trinitarians had reconciled themselves to the condition, that the only consistent way in which Scripture could convey to us such an enigmatical and puzzling doctrine, was by a method which should engage the most tortuous, adroit, and mazy ingenuity of the human faculties in seeking for results that must partake of the character of the process for reaching them. Roman Catholic critics acknowledge manfully, as did Dr. Newman while he was yet an Oxford divine, that the Trinity is not a Bible doctrine, but a Church doctrine, and that our knowledge and recognition of it and its authority rest for us on the same basis as does the substitution of the Christian Sunday for the Jewish Sabbath. And if the method by which Trinitarians hunt through the Bible for intimations and implications of the doctrine of the Trinity be a repulsive one, not the less uninviting is the task of answering all such arguments by a similar process. Since the doctrine gained currency in the world, and found a positive statement in many creeds, the Scriptures have been translated into the vernacular languages of Christendom under the bias of a Trinitarian belief. The present Archbishop of Canterbury, who ought to be the highest of human authorities, speaks, in his discourse on Apostolic Preaching, of "the many passages of Scripture which have suffered by the general bias of the age in which our translation was made," — the bias of Calvinism. Those who have argued for the Trinity, having started with a bias, helped by their ingenuity and guided by their fancy, have, with a vast deal of pains, gone through the whole Bible, trying to

* Treatise on Biblical Criticism, Vol. II. pp. 441-448. We may add, that Dr. Davidson, though a Trinitarian, is as decided in his rejection of 1 John v. 7, as "spurious," and in his accordance with the critical judgment which reads 1 Tim. iii. 16, "Great is that mystery of godliness *which* was manifested in the flesh," &c.

see how many intimations of this doctrine they could cull out. There has been an amazing amount of trifling exercised in this direction. Some who have ridiculed or censured the follies of Rabbinical and allegorical interpretation, or the puerilities of the Cabala, have rivalled these follies in their attempts to find hints of the Trinity in sentences whose writers evidently never dreamed of the doctrine. Thus the use of the Hebrew plural in the word (Elohim) for God, and the use of the plural pronoun when "God said, Let *us* make man in our own image," modes of speech used to denote majesty or sovereignty, are urged in proof of a companionship in the Deity. Sentences are quoted asserting that no man hath seen or can see God, and are compared with other sentences which speak of manifestations of God to the patriarchs and others; and the conclusion is drawn, that the Jehovah of the Old Testament was the revealing Son, not the Father. Yet even then the chain of intended proofs breaks at one link, while another link is in the welding; for if a manifestation of one person in the Trinity was impossible, how could there be a manifestation of another person in it? Again, the assertion is quoted as from God, that he "will not give his glory to another," and then an argument is raised to show that the honors of God are assigned to Christ; while the inference follows that Christ is God.

We have no heart for going through this unnatural, this offensive task of tracing the windings of this textual ingenuity, or of answering its characteristic results. The process has no natural limitations or rules, because it has no reasonable basis, no first grounds. It is all a forced work, and fancy will make more or less of it according as it is pursued by those who have more or less of fancy,—fancy, however, of a very inferior sort.

For we have to object once more, that the Scriptures bear a positive testimony against this doctrine of the Trinity, by insisting upon the absolute Unity of God. Trinitarians think that they recognize the force of these reiterated and emphatic assertions of Scripture by afterwards gathering up into one God those whom they have made three divine persons. But as the analysis was forced, the synthesis must be strained. As the ingenuity of the human mind could alone devise the triplicate dis-

tion, the same ingenuity has to nullify its own work to construct the Unity. Trinitarians do indeed assure us that there is no incongruity, nothing inconceivable, in the essential substance of their doctrinal statement. But we must be judges as to that matter, certainly so far as our own minds are concerned. Our minds assure us that violence must be done to the most explicit statements of every page of Scripture, before it can be made to yield to us the doctrine of the Trinity.

We object, finally, to this doctrine, that we know its origin to have been, not in the Scriptures, but outside of them. It was the Greek Philosophy of Alexandria, and not the Hebrew or Christian Theology of Jerusalem, that gave birth to this doctrine. We can trace its fount, its spring, its incomings. There is no historical fact more fully supported than that of the addiction of the Church Fathers to the study of the Greek Philosophy; they loved it, they fondly pursued it, they were infected by it, their speculations were influenced by it, their Christian faith received intermixture from it. Dr. Cæsar Morgan acknowledges this fact most candidly, though he pursues a critical examination of all the passages in Plato which are thought to contain references to an ante-Christian Trinity, for the sake of proving that the Fathers did not get the doctrine from the philosopher. But the argument which he assails does not yield to his assault upon it. We might as well dispute whether an ancient tragedy, whose catastrophe turns on Fate, were of Grecian or Jewish origin, as debate the issue whether a theosophical fiction concerning the Godhead, which involves the most acute subtilty of philosophy, sprang from the Abrahamic faith or from Hellenic Gnosticism. The history of the doctrine of the Trinity makes to us an evident display of a development, an amplification and steady augmentation, from a germ which was forced into an artificial growth. It was an evolved doctrine which was constantly seeking to define itself, which was never at rest, and which never has been at rest under any of the definitions which it has found for itself. A comparison of the three old creeds, the so-called Apostles', the Nicene, and the Athanasian, with a reference to their dates, will unmistakably reveal of what processes and elements the doctrine of the Trinity is the product.

We return now to that great doctrine of controverted theology, the Deity of Christ, to maintain which, as we have said, the doctrine of a Trinity of Persons in the Unity of the Godhead is so strenuously asserted in Orthodox creeds. Very many Trinitarians have candidly acknowledged the force of one or all of the objections which have just been hinted at. They allow that the Trinitarian scheme is burdened with the most serious perplexities to the understanding, that it is not simply a mystery, like some of the other tenets of their faith, but a confounding and puzzling enigma, teasing their minds, rather than yielding them an instructive idea,—straining their comprehension instead of enlightening it. And yet those who most candidly make this allowance insist, with their fellow-believers, upon the vital truth and importance of the doctrine of the Trinity as involving the essential doctrine of the Deity of Christ. This latter doctrine then presents itself to us as really the primary rudiment of a scheme of which, in other aspects, it claims to be only one of the conditions and consequences. A Trinity is insisted upon in order that it may include the Deity of Christ, and then the Deity of Christ is affirmed as an element of the Trinity. We do not err in saying that the doctrine now before us is charged with the double obligation of sustaining its own truth, and also that of the doctrine of the Trinity, by the positive authority of the Scriptures. Orthodoxy has a dogma on this point, but Unitarianism has no dogma, except in the quality of denying a dogma. Let the issue be fairly understood. The question is not whether the Scriptures do or do not assign to Jesus Christ an exalted and mysterious nature and range of being, which lifts him above the sphere of humanity. The question is not whether from what is revealed of the Saviour we can fashion a full and satisfactory theory, which will make him to us a perfectly intelligible and well-defined being, holding a fixed place on the scale between man and God. But the question is this: Do all the offices and functions and honors assigned to Jesus Christ exhibit him as undistinguishable from God in time and essence and underived existence, and in self-centred, inherent qualities? Is he, or is he not, presented to us as a fractional part of the Godhead,—the object, not the medium, of prayer,—the source, not the

agent, of redemption, — the substitute, not the representative, of Jehovah, — as the occupant of heaven's high throne, not as seated "by the right hand" of the Supreme? We are not to be driven, as to a sole alternative, to the affirming that Christ was a man, because he was not God, nor to the holding ourselves bound to show what he was less than God, nor yet to the assigning him a sphere of his own distinct at every point from that of Deity, because we say that the New Testament presents him as receiving everything from the Father. What that everything *includes*, it would be presumptuous in us to define; but it is not presumptuous in us to say that it *excludes* underived prerogatives. There is indeed large room for choice amid the range of speculative opinions which Unitarianism has covered on this point, in seeking to find a substitute for the Trinitarian opinion. The office which we have assigned to ourselves in this review of the substantial issues of a protracted controversy, does not require an elaborate and exhaustive statement of Unitarian views on this point. We have but to present the antagonistic positions of the parties in this controversy.

If there are two connected truths taught with emphatic and reiterated distinctness in the New Testament, — or rather we should say, if there are two such truths taken for granted there, — they are that of the sole and simple unity of God the Father, and that of the derived and dependent relation to him of Jesus Christ. In order to secure distinctness and clearness of thought upon Scripture doctrine, we must subordinate the Son to the Father, and having done this to take our first step in Christian faith, we cannot complete our progress in that faith by confounding the Son with the Father. We must distinguish between that being who appeared in Judæa as a messenger from God, and the God whose messenger he was. The office of Christ in warming and clothing and making welcome to us what otherwise would have been a cold and naked and distant doctrine of Deism, appears to us exceedingly unlike what it is represented to have been by the excellent Dr. Arnold. Often, and most approvingly, triumphantly indeed, has the following remark of his been quoted: —

“ While I am most ready to allow the provoking and most ill-judged language in which the truth as I hold it to be respecting God has been expressed by Trinitarians, so, on the other hand, I am inclined to think that Unitarians have deceived themselves by fancying that they could understand the notion of one God any better than that of God in Christ; whereas it seems to me, that it is only of God in Christ that I can in my present state of being conceive anything at all. To know God the Father, that is, God as he is in himself, in his to us incomprehensible essence, seems the great and most blessed promise reserved for us when this mortal shall have put on immortality.” *

There is a singular confusion of thought and inconsistency of sentiment in these sentences, which glance off from a beautiful truth into a foggy fancy. Christ comes to facilitate our conceptions of God, to be the medium for our vision, our confidence, and our knowledge of God, to make clearer and stronger to us the sublime truth of Deity; and Christ effects this, Dr. Arnold implies, by substituting himself for the Being whom he represents, reveals, and brings nearer to us! If from our own point of view we can discern any change which in process of years will be sure to manifest itself in the technics of theology, it is this, — that theologians who have been so long trying to accommodate this doctrine of some sort of a Trinity to their belief, will surrender it altogether at the very point at which they have felt bound to accept it; namely, that point at which a committal to the doctrine of the Trinity has been thought essential to the defence of the Deity of Christ.

Unitarianism is committed to this fundamental position, that, however exalted, however mysterious, however undefined by limitations in a divine or a human direction, may be the nature and the rank of Jesus Christ, he is not presented to us in the Gospel as claiming the undervived prerogatives of Deity; nor, consequently, as an object of our homage or prayer. All those reiterated commonplaces of reproach cast upon us, — of denying the Lord that bought us, — of defrauding him of his due honor, — of relying for salvation on a created being, — are based upon assumptions which suppose us to yield in one form what we object to under another form of

* Letter to William Smith, Esq., March 9, 1833, in *Life* by Stanley.

doctrine. It is a gross perversion of the Apostle's language to say that he meant, by a denial of the Lord, a denial of him as our God: we do not defraud Jesus of his due honor, when we honor him for what he is, precisely as we honor God for what He is; and if we rely on the being "whom God has set forth to be our Prince and Saviour," we feel that the reliance is worthy of our trust. We certainly cannot be said to withhold the honor due to Christ, if, persuaded as we are that he always, and in the strongest terms of definite precept, claims our supreme homage for his Father and our Father, we restrict the tribute paid to himself within the limitations of religious awe. We do not understand the object of the Gospel to be to give us an idea of a complexity of personality in the Godhead, but to exalt, refine, and render practically effective the old reverence associated with the unchangeable Jehovah. Christ, we think, came into the world to show us the Father, not to divide our homage with the Father. He came to lead us to God, not to draw us to himself as our God. He continually, and with much variety of language, refers us to One above himself, without whom he could do nothing, the Source of all his powers and gifts, the Being before whom he was himself to bring and lay down the tokens of his fulfilled commission. He forbids all homage or supplication addressed to himself, and enjoins that such exercises be offered to God.

Unitarians, therefore, are concerned to hold and to vindicate the sole unity, the undivided sovereignty, of God. If any spiritual penalty is to be visited upon us here or hereafter for our opinion or our teaching on this point, we must submit to bear it. We do and shall plead, however, that some one emphatic sentence — one at least — ought to have been uttered by the Saviour in assertion of his underived Deity, equal in the positiveness of its statement to that of a hundred sentences in which he affirms his subordination to God.

If the proportions and the completeness of a view, however summary, did not require it, we would most gladly omit all reference to that very unwelcome work of following the argument for the Deity of Christ into those ambushes of sentences, half-sentences, and phrases called texts, — proof-texts, — in which it is thought to hide.

We can urge ourselves only to the very briefest recognition of this element in the controversy. The processes for constructing and for answering what is called argument on this point, are precisely like those already referred to in connection with a plea for or against the doctrine of the Trinity. A conception which has originated outside of the Scriptures, from the exigencies of speculation and theorizing, is ingeniously carried into a textual examination of the Scriptures, and is made to claim support from them by pleas which would not be considered valid in the interpretation of any other documents. Happily, however, long and free discussion has simplified the terms of this questionable method. The marvellous discovery has been made by a most careful and candid student of the works of Christian divines, that each single text and each single process of reasoning by which Trinitarianism has sought to prove its Scriptural authority, has been surrendered as wholly unavailable for that purpose by a series of writers of highest eminence and scholarship in various Trinitarian communions.* Yet more remarkable, too, is the fact, that in the very closest proximity to the sentences or the half-sentences which are claimed as intimating, darkly or clearly, the Deity of Christ, are found other sentences of a most explicit character which are in direct opposition to such an inference.

The first sentences of John's Gospel are quoted triumphantly by Trinitarians, with this brief comment: Christ is the Word; the Word is said to be God; therefore Christ is God. Now suppose in those sentences we substitute, not only *Christ* in place of the *Word*, but also a Trinitarian equivalent for God. That equivalent must be either the term *Father*, or the term *Trinity*. We will try both of them, thus: "In the beginning was Christ, and Christ was with the Father, and Christ was the Father." That will not do. "In the beginning was Christ, and Christ was with the Trinity, and Christ was the Trinity." Neither will that do.

We are reminded that Jesus enjoined "that all men should honor the Son, even as they honor the Father." (John v. 23.) But do the words "*even as*," when so

* See "Concessions of Trinitarians, &c.," by John Wilson.

used, imply identity of being in two who are to be honored, or that an identical regard is required for each? Can we not honor the Son for what he is, even as we honor the Father for what He is? Is it an unusual thing for a principal in sending a deputy on an embassy to ask for his representative a regard conformed to what would be paid to himself? For Jesus himself adds, "He that honoreth not the Son, honoreth not the Father which hath sent him," — certainly recognizing his own dependence.

We are reminded that Thomas, on recognizing his Master by his wounds, exclaims, "My Lord, and my God!" (John xx. 28,) and the Trinitarian insists that he applied both terms to the Saviour. But must Thomas be precluded from the possibility of having both Christ and God in his mind in that moment of surprise and earnest outbursting of emotion? Could he not apostrophize the Deity as we ourselves do under excitement on far lesser occasions?

We are reminded that the martyr Stephen, rapt in a vision of glory at his death, "Saw Jesus standing on the right hand of God." (Acts vii. 55.) He saw *two* beings then. But our translators have introduced into a subsequent verse the word *God*, which is not in the original, thus: "And they stoned Stephen, calling upon *God*, and saying, Lord Jesus," instead of "calling out and saying, Lord Jesus," &c. (verse 59.)

We are reminded that Jesus says, "I and my Father are one." (John x. 30.) But does he not twice pray that his disciples may be in the same unity which exists between him and his Father? "That they may be one, as we are." (John xvii. 11.) "That they all may be one: as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us." (verse 21.)

We are reminded of Paul's assertion, that "all things are put under Christ." (1 Cor. xv. 27.) But does not the Apostle add, as if to guard against all possibility of misconception, — "It is manifest that He is excepted who did put all things under him; and when all things shall be subdued unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subject unto Him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all"?

We are reminded that the same Apostle says of Christ (Coloss. i. 16), whom he has just called "the first-born

of every creature": "For by him were all things created that are in heaven, and that are in earth," &c. But when the Apostle proceeds to add, "For it pleased the Father that in him should all fulness dwell," (verse 19,) he leaves us to infer that all things were created and disposed *with reference* to Christ: "All things were created by him and for him."

We are reminded that the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews quotes a Psalm as addressing the Son, thus: "Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever!" (i. 8.) But saying nothing of the sufficient reasons for reading the passage, "God is thy throne for ever and ever," what are we to do with the next verse, which says: "Thou hast loved righteousness, and hated iniquity; therefore God, even thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows"?

But even this hopeless method of attempting to deduce from scattered sentences or half-sentences the proof of a doctrine which is positively precluded by contiguous sentences of the plainest import,—even this task must be pursued under the pressure of a necessity for proving that Christ, himself one in the Trinity of the Godhead, united in his own person a divine nature and a human nature. If that dogma did not take its start in a complete renunciation of the natural demand that an intelligible idea should be connected with every positive assertion, the dogma would have to yield itself at a very early stage of the process for pursuing it through the New Testament. Now an Apostle tells us, that we ourselves are "partakers of the divine nature"; but we interpret the words as teaching us that this gift of God in us distinguishes us from brutes and makes us *men*,—not men *and God*; still less does it make us partakers in the *underived prerogative of Deity*,—divine in our own right. We institute no comparison between the measurements of the divine gift in us, and that in Christ, for we believe there is no room for such a comparison, as Christ had the spirit of God without measure. But a gift, however unlimited in its measurement, does not change the receiver into the giver, nor transfer the original prerogative of self-centring fulness of essence. The more such a gift imparts, the more does it strengthen the difference between its source and its re-

ceiver as such, and the closer does it make the dependence of its object upon its original. This fiction of a double nature in Christ does not cover the phenomena for the explanation of which theologians have recourse to it. Jesus says of his highest gifts and powers, those which in him are most exalting and most divine, that he received them from the Being who also gave him a body for the manifestation of them. We might possibly conceive of Deity under a form of flesh, and listen to the speech of the tongue which should refer its wisdom to the indwelling God. But what if the indwelling Spirit refers us to the Source of which it is a ray? The qualities in Christ which lift him nearest to the Supreme are the very ones to which he most emphatically assigns the proof of his dependence upon God. All power in heaven and on earth is his; but not self-possessed,—for he says it was *given* to him. He had power to lay down his life, and he had power to take it again, and that, too, he had “*received* from the Father.” When a believer in the double nature of Christ—that is, as defined by the popular theology—undertakes to go through the New Testament, and assign his words and deeds respectively to his Deity or his humanity, he will find that he gathers a reserved list of qualities and elements of a doubtful reference. As these present themselves, the inquirer is forced to ask, Did Christ say this as God or as man? Often will such a process make it appear that what Christ is represented as saying or doing in his human nature is above the sphere of humanity, and that what is affirmed of him in his divine nature is below the sphere of Deity.

And what becomes of the individuality, the personality of Christ, the consistency of his character, and the identity of his consciousness, when in the sacred drama of his Gospel manifestation he is represented as performing in two parts, and without change of fleshly garb or tone or speech lays aside now his Deity and now his humanity in alternate moments and in successive sentences of his discourse? His prayers must be construed as soliloquies: his deeds of power must be referred to himself, and his professions of dependence to one element of that self, speaking of another element in the same self. The incongruity, the incoherence, which the Orthodox

doctrine of two natures in Christ either puts into or draws from the Scriptures, is not the least of the confounding conditions of the theory. When an individual speaks of himself to others, they understand him as speaking of all that is embraced under his seeming and his real individuality. Unless he has announced himself as representing two characters, and as free to pass from the one impersonation into the other without giving warning of the transition, his two characters will be regarded as making up one character, and some deeds and utterances which would have been intelligible if assigned to either of his impersonations, become inexplicable if referred to his composite character. Only through the help of an illustration — for which, however, we need not apologize, as the candid will recognize the simple intent of a parallelism at only one point — can we express the real embarrassment which we meet in attempting to deal with the theory of a double nature in Christ. Let it be allowed us, then, to conceive of a man who is concerned in business under two relations, — first as an individual, and second as a member of a firm of three partners. Under each of these relations he receives and writes letters, meets at his two offices those with whom he has dealings, and speaks and acts under the exigencies of his double mercantile connections. As a member of the firm he has visited its place of business, consulted its books, and read letters which have made known to him certain facts of a very serious import and interest to others. He goes to his place for transacting the business which he does on his private account. While there, a friend, who is deeply concerned in the very matters of which he has just come to the knowledge, enters and asks for information about them, addressing him as an individual possessing one mind, one consciousness. He replies that he knows nothing about the matter, keeping in reserve, however, the explanation which he makes to himself, that he means that his private letters are silent on the subject. Does he deal fairly with his questioner, especially if that questioner has appealed to him on the very ground of his well-known extended and various relations to the business affairs of the world, and perhaps on the day previous has heard him speak in that character? Precisely this question would be continually

presenting itself to us in embarrassing and painful shapes if we accepted the theory of a double nature in Christ, under which, when questioned as an individual on the ground of all he ever claimed to know and to be, he replied according to his choice of characters for the moment, by a claim founded on his Deity, or a profession of limited knowledge or ignorance justified by his humanity. The Jews understood that the same individuality of being addressed them in the words, "I can of mine own self do nothing," as in the words, "I will raise him up at the last day." Not the least intimation does the Saviour appear to have given to his disciples in their privacy, that the mystery which invested him was to be solved by distributing his words and deeds, his claims of unlimited power, and his acknowledgments of dependence upon one above him, to two natures united in him. If he had two natures he must have borne two characters, and his discourses and actions must be referred respectively to the one or the other, so far as is possible. But when ingenuity has exhausted itself in this task, it will still have to account for phenomena attendant upon the Saviour which are referable neither to a Self-Existent and Infinite God, nor to any manifestation ever yet made of human nature. We reject this theological figment of a double nature, as a pure invention of human brains, a Gnostic conceit, unwarranted by the record, and unavailable for the solution of the mystery which invests the Messiah. The Gospel is not chargeable with it.

But after Unitarians have formed and avowed a most positive and unqualified conviction, as the characteristic distinction of their creed, that Jesus Christ is not presented to us in the Scriptures as claiming the underived prerogatives of Deity, nor as the object of our worship or our ultimate trust, Unitarians have to answer to themselves and to others the question which the Saviour puts to all his disciples, "What think ye of Christ?" It is indeed a matter for thought, for serious and perplexing thought. The field over which that thought will range is so wide, and men will bring to it such various capacities, methods, and biases, that they will find themselves led to speculate towards different conclusions. Obvious it is to every candid mind, of whatever sect, that there is nothing in the fixed fundamental tenet of Uni-

tarianism on this point, which prevents our rising to the highest possible conception of the nature, the offices, and the agency of Christ. Trinitarians sometimes speak of us as if, in denying an underived divinity to Christ, we actually deprived ourselves of a God in whom we might trust, and left the central throne of heaven empty because we do not seat upon it the vicegerent of the Most High. We can tell them that our doctrine gives to us the same God whom they worship, and another being, — yes, a Divine Being besides. We know of nothing that hinders but that God may impart, may delegate, any measurement of his own properties, save simply that of self-existence. And as the properties of God are infinite, the One who partakes of them in the highest measurement must be exalted above human powers of conception for defining the compass of his *nature*, leaving, however, one single limiting distinction, — that, as there can be but One Infinite, Self-Existent, Supreme, the Son must be subordinated to the Father. And this is the truth which is in part declared and in part intimated in the Saviour's own affirmation, "My Father is greater than I." The declaration subordinates Christ to God, the intimation exalts Christ all but infinitely above humanity. It would be preposterous, for a being standing in human form among men, to utter the blank and stolid conceit of owning his inferiority to God. A distinctive exaltation above the sphere of humanity is the essence of the meaning of that utterance. The pointing upwards to the one who is *Highest* as the only one who is *higher*, distinguishes Christ alike from Deity and from humanity. The universe of being is to us enriched by an additional being, through the view which we entertain of Christ. The awful vacuum between the loftiest partakers of angelic natures and the Supreme has now a radiant occupant, who fills the whole of it. That Unitarians are disposed to conceive of Christ under the highest exposition which the strongest phrase or sentence of Scripture makes of him, is an admission which they will not ask of the charity, for they demand it of the justice, of their opponents. How absurd it is to charge us with derogating from the claims or the honor of Jesus! Such censorious words imply a motive which we know is not in our hearts. What possible induce-

ment could we have to entertain it? Between us and other Christians, what different influences in purpose or inclination can be traced, which would warrant such an impugning of our sincerity as is implied in these odious charges? To derogate from the just claims or honor of another, to reduce his dignity, or to withhold his rightful tribute, implies always a mean or a malignant feeling; and if Unitarians deserve such a charge, let it be spoken boldly, in manly candor, and not intimated by covert insinuations. During the progress of this controversy many an Orthodox preacher in city and country pulpits, relying upon his own conceit, or trusting to the oracular authority which he may have with those who are willing to listen to him as a teacher of Christian truth, has ventured to tell them in unqualified terms, "Unitarians degrade and deny the Saviour." It is difficult to suppose that any one can so speak of *professed Christians*, without communicating to himself at least a glow of unchristian passion, even if the language were not suggested by such a feeling. But imagine these preachers to have substituted some such language as this: "Unitarians, with all the means of knowing the truth which I myself have, and in the exercise of a desire, which I have no right to think is not as thoroughly sincere and pure as my own desire, to discover what the truth is, believe that Christ, however exalted he may be, is not identical with God." We venture to say that this latter style of address, if it had prevailed, would have given us a better opinion of the candor of Orthodox preachers in seeking to instruct large classes of those who are disposed to listen to them most confidently, than we have now.

Our sole aim and wish are to gather from the New Testament as intelligible and adequate a conception as is possible of Jesus Christ. We are concerned to do this through the force of two equally serious and sincere motives,—the one having in view the strength and clearness of our own mental and spiritual apprehension of him as the Messiah, the other looking to a reverent gratitude to Christ himself in assigning him his place in our hearts. We wish to think rightly of Christ, in order that we may believe in him, may rest our confidence in his authority and his sufficiency; and in order that we may love him, as he made our affection the highest con-

dition for putting us into such a relation to him as will constitute him our Saviour. It is simply and wholly through force of convictions wrought by a serious study of the Scriptures, that Unitarians, who agree in a denial of the Deity of Christ, are led to differ in their metaphysical views of him. Their differences range over the whole field of conception between an idea of Christ as a man miraculously endowed, and an idea of him as the sharer of God's throne, his counsellor and companion, holding rank above all other orders of being, and touching upon the prerogatives of Deity. To some, the Arian hypothesis of Christ as pre-existent, ranking above all angels, and dwelling before all worlds were made in the bosom of God, has been a favorite conviction. To others, this hypothesis is barren of all that gives to a high theme of faith its glow and grandeur, as it vainly attempts to exalt Christ chiefly by extending his existence through a longer space of time. Others still insist that the very last question suggested by the New Testament; as a matter of concern to us, is that of Christ's nature, inasmuch as we are interested only in his office, and have to do with him only as a visitor to this earth for the especial purposes of revelation which he has now fulfilled. And yet again, we have met on Unitarian pages an accepted use of the phrase "the eternal generation of the Son." We know that those who use this phrase neither intend to utter an absurdity, nor to signify that they are saying something while yet they say nothing. Still we are sure that we do not get their idea, for we get no idea at all from their words. The generation of a son, or the birth of a son, indicates an event, an incident that transpires at some point in time. Now if the epithet *mysterious*, or *original*, or *undated*, or a like epithet, was connected with the word, we should acknowledge the presence of an idea; but to connect *eternal* with the *generation* of anything, if it effects any purpose, takes back in one of the words what is asserted in the other. Happily, however, it is an understood canon of language that every idea, if it is an idea which requires two words to express it, may be stated in at least two ways,—generally in several ways, but always in two. Now if those who use the phrase "the eternal generation of the Son," as expressing a point in their

belief, will put their idea into another form of expression, we may perhaps be helped to understand their meaning.

Those Unitarians who regard Jesus as presented to us under a simply human aspect, hold this opinion not necessarily through the force of any prejudice, but as the transcript and substance of what they think the plain New Testament teaching upon it. They believe that miraculous endowments from God on a basis of pure humanity — complemented, perfected, and inspired manhood — fill out every representation there made of Christ, account for all he was and did, ratify all that he taught or promised, adapt him to all our necessities as a “high-priest touched with the feelings of our infirmities,” as “the faithful and true witness” of God, and as “able to save unto the uttermost those who come unto God by him.” And when those who thus believe are taunted or challenged for relying, — as the rebuke is worded, — for “relying for salvation on a created being,” they have but to answer, that they no more rely for their salvation than they did for their existence upon a *created being*, as their reliance is simply and ultimately upon God, though it may be mediately upon any agency or method which God may have chosen. For if God chose a created being to be the medium of our salvation, as he made created beings to be the mediums of our existence, his power and wisdom in the choice of such an agency or method are not to be questioned, while “the grace is still the same.” If any one should refuse to accept the proffer of salvation through such an agency, as too humble or inadequate, he might be reminded of the rebuke conveyed to the Syrian leper by his servant, when he compared the river of Israel so contemptuously with Abana and Pharpar. This taunt of relying for salvation on a created being is meant, of course, to convey the idea that the Scriptures teach that not only the Source, but the *Mediator*, of our salvation is an uncreated being. But this, however, opens again the whole question as to what the teaching of Scripture on this point is. Let that sole, simple issue stand clear of all such taunts upon those who, as sincerely and as intelligently as others who come to different conclusions, are brought to the belief that Christ is presented to us in

Scripture as the perfection of humanity, or, in the words of Peter, as, "a man approved of God by miracles, and wonders, and signs which God did by him."

Yet others among the Unitarians have been as strenuous as have been any of the believers in the Trinity in rejecting this humanitarian view of Christ. Earnest have been the protests of many among us against that view. Some have firmly believed that the truth lay wholly in an opposite direction, and so have embraced the theory of the pre-existence, the super-angelic glory of Christ, as being the first-born of the creation of God, constituting a sacred companionship in the otherwise lonely majesty of heaven, the sharer and almost the equal in essence with the Supreme, waiting that fulness of time which should bring him in human form to this earth. One may hold this belief as millions have held it, and still be in all strictness a Unitarian; for Unitarianism is committed simply to a distinction between God and Christ,—a distinction which subordinates Christ to God. Certainly here is a wide range for faith,—wide enough for every phase of mental conception, wide enough to fill out every form of language, every shaping of thought, which we find in the Scriptures. We must distinguish between God and Christ, and the attempt to confound them would to us require a yielding up of the most explicit statements of the New Testament, which give added distinctness to our conceptions of both those beings by assigning to each a work that individualizes their relation to us. Even though, in the work of redemption, and in the manifestation made to us of the Father in the Son, there is a blending of their glory, and we find it hard to separate their office and agency, they are still seen to part at the very point in which they are in closest union; just as when a powerful telescope is turned towards one of those sparkling orbs which glitter in the midnight sky, it seems to the eye to be single, but the keenest gaze resolves it into a double star, one of which is of the first magnitude, and the other of which is not. Dr. Woods (in his Ninth Letter to Unitarians) says that the distinction between the Father and the Son "is of such a nature that they are *two*, and are in Scripture represented to be two as *really* as Moses and Aaron, though not in a sense inconsistent with their es-

sential unity." The obvious meaning of the last clause of this sentence is, evidently, not the meaning which the writer intended to convey ; but conveniently for himself, though disappointingly to us, he stops short of conveying what meaning he must have thought he had in his own mind.

It seems to us that some of the highest and most precious uses for which God was manifested in the person of Christ, are wholly sacrificed when Christ is merged back into Deity. Some of our own writers, in the sedate calmness of written discourse, as well as in the loftiest strains of their devotional rhetoric, have expressed their earnest belief in "the Incarnation of God," and have spoken of Christ, not simply as the Incarnate Word of God, but as the Incarnate God. It is evident that the use of this phrase must involve some of those indeterminate and undefined significations attaching to phraseology, the materials of which are metaphysical, while its purpose is to convey a most literal and direct meaning. The phrase is burdened not only with all the wealth and majesty of Christian conceptions, but also with all the poverty and meanness of Hindoo doctrines. In fact, it is one of those phrases which indicates either a doubtful fancy, or an adequate and intelligible and satisfactory interpretation of one of the highest conceptions of the spirit, — according to the companionship which it may find in the other religious ideas of each human mind. But our point is this: that Jesus Christ is presented to us as a real and distinct being, — as a real individuality, not merely as the medium of a manifestation. To resolve him back into Deity, while it makes no addition to the Godhead, deprives us of a being nearer to our conceptions, and more available to some of our highest needs of guidance, knowledge, and confidence. The moon we know receives all its light from the sun, imparting only to us the brightness and blessing which it has received. But having received those rays from its source, it has a power of concentrating and reflecting them, and that power in the moon of concentrating and reflecting the rays of the sun is the subsidiary condition which makes the moon a helpful orb to us. The sun would have no perceptible increase of light if it called in the beams which it lends to our

beautiful satellite, but then we should lose one of heaven's fairest objects. If it were to be proved that there really is no organized body answering to what we call the moon, but that the sun's rays not only gild, but also by some wondrous process create, the appearance of such an orb, by casting a blazing focus like a spectrum into one spot amid the mists of heaven, the realms of space would be deprived of a solid body, and in place of it we should have a phantasm. Similar would be the loss among the objects of our religious faith and devotional reliance, if Christ, as a distinct reality, is resolved into a radiation of God. We believe, indeed, that his light is not his own, yet we also believe that that light does not create a phantom form, but is concentrated and reflected by the Son, who "has life" and being "in himself."

Nor is it only in the earthly offices and ministry of Christ that we find reason to distinguish him from God. The straits of devotion, trust, aspiration, and religious experience are relieved by a firm belief in him who is seated at the right hand of the Supreme, still intrusted with the mission which thirty years of an earthly ministry did not complete. We believe in the present existence of Christ, not as God, but as Christ. We believe in his present agency for his Church. The Scriptures positively affirm that he is now watching over his own work, advancing his own cause. He is called our Advocate and Intercessor with the Father. Christian trust and love, and the conscious want and dependence of the heart, can fill out the meaning of those terms if — and only if — Christ is still existing, not as God, but as *Christ*. It is utterly impossible to give any natural or intelligible meaning to those terms, if we call Christ God; for then we have God interceding with God, and we lose our Mediator. Trinitarianism teaches that Christ parted with all that in him and about him was not God when he left the earth, and in dropping the flesh, which alone brought him into sympathy of nature with us, returned to the sky in the simple exaltation of Deity. If so, his separate ministry for us has ceased. But we need it still, and never more than since he has passed into the heavens. We need him still, as a being distinguishable by our thought and faith from God, that he may lead us up to God, and reconcile us to God.

The Trinitarian view of him now is but a barren theory of metaphysics to us. Reliance upon his written teachings is but a cold, didactic exercise, unless quickened by faith in an ever-living Christ.

The candor with which we have aimed to pursue this discussion requires of us one frank confession at its close. We are concerned to state with emphasis the fact that, as one result of the controversy on this point, there has been a marked and most edifying change in the prevailing tone of Unitarian discourse upon the offices and the agency of Christ. We are willing, too, to admit our indebtedness to some cautions and remonstrances from our doctrinal opponents, while we also affirm that our experiences within our own fold and within our own breasts have ratified these remonstrances as not wholly uncalled for and as highly salutary to us. Not forgetting the many tracts and essays and sermons by early Unitarians, whose fervor of faith and exalted trust in the mediatorial and superhuman offices of Christ fed the piety of multitudes of our cherished and sainted dead, we admit that some of high repute among us have favored what are called low, and chilling, and inadequate views of the Author and Finisher of our faith. One of the least available uses which Christ serves to us is that of an "Example," simply because the availableness of an example consists in exciting and aiding us to imitate it, and our imitation of Christ must necessarily be at so fearfully long and hopeless a distance, that even to lay much stress on his being an example to us would be more apt to mislead us into an over-confidence in ourselves as imitators, than to an adequate conception of that perfect being. We may imitate some actions of the Saviour, — but to imitate *him* is a task which means more than the words convey. If we were to spend a lifetime on the study of Newton's Principia, and were to undertake to verify every process in his deductions, we should be disposed to take the name of a disciple, rather than that of an imitator of Newton. Have not Unitarians overlooked some of the proportions of truth in speaking of Christ as an example? There may have been no speculative error in this, seeing that Christ set before us God himself as our example. But if that has been to any a paramount view of Christ, it may have practically obscured some of his other offices.

Nor does the epithet "Teacher" suit any high devotional conception of Christ. When curious dividers of the word of truth have proclaimed that every didactic lesson, every precept, every moral truth, taught by Christ, may be paralleled by a quotation from Hebrew or classic pages, what is there left to signalize him as a teacher? True, we may sublimate the word Teacher, and make it embrace the authority, the evidences, and the attractions of the lessons conveyed by the only perfect and heaven-attested Teacher; but that is connecting the epithet with Christ rather for the sake of exalting the word than for the purpose of giving him his highest title. The distinction of a teacher is his doctrine, and when that doctrine so far transcends any other teaching as to embrace not only the loftiest lessons, but also the influences, the appeals, and the aid which give them their power over the soul, the functions of a Teacher are absorbed in the offices of a Saviour. A didactic view of the Gospel has found perhaps an excess and disproportion of favor among Unitarians.

"You do not make enough of Christ," has been the remonstrance addressed to us. We have listened to it. If it ever offended us, it shall henceforward be of service to us. We believe that it has been of service to us, for the reason that some in our own communion have made it a self-reproaching accusation, which has warmed their hearts and deepened their Christian love. We have not made enough of Christ. No denomination of Christians makes enough of Christ. Unitarians, having been compelled to treat of Christ by methods which metaphysically subordinate him, have been in danger of losing sight of the best influence from him and of the conditions for securing it. We should be glad to feel that we have done with the metaphysical discussion, and may henceforward forego it, that we may give all our thought to the devotional, the spiritual apprehension of Christ. This is to us the great, the best result of the controversy.

Henceforth it shall be with less and less of reason furnished by us, that our opponents shall say, "You do not make enough of Christ." Having distinguished him from God, we feel all the more our need of him to guide us to God, to manifest God to us. We recognize in our own deepest wants the craving to which he ministers.

We know and own that, in a Gospel which comes by Christ, Christ must be the foremost object, and that every sentiment engaged by that Gospel must yield some tribute of heart and soul to him. If in the ardor of controversy we have seemed to depreciate any office of Christ, or, in our jealousy for the prerogative of the Supreme, to forget any of our obligations of love and reverence to his Messiah, we can say that it has been so only in the seeming, and not in reality. If in the spirit of charity our opponents have charged us with our seeming error on this point, we thank them for it. We would, however, remind them, that we are not driven to such a mistake by any exigencies of our doctrinal position, as denying the Trinity and the underived Deity of Christ. "To us there is one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him." (1 Cor. viii. 6.) Our negations may be the most striking characteristic of our creed to its opponents; but our positive faith is the condition of its power and truth and value to ourselves.

G. E. E.

ART. IV.—MACAULAY'S HISTORY OF ENGLAND.*

It is just seven years since the first two volumes of Mr. Macaulay's *History of England* were given to the public. The second volume closed with an account of the debates in the Convention Parliament of 1688, and of the different theories by which the statesmen of that age endeavored to meet the constitutional problem presented by the transfer of their allegiance to a new sovereign during the life of the exiled monarch. We have now two additional volumes, carrying forward the narrative from the proclamation of William and Mary, in February, 1689, to the public thanksgiving, in December, 1697, upon the conclusion of the treaty of Ryswick.

* *The History of England from the Accession of James the Second.* By THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY. Vols. III. and IV. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans. 1855. 8vo. pp. xi. and 764, xii. and 836. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.

This delay in the publication of the successive volumes is to be ascribed to various causes, — to the uncertain state of the author's health, the pressure of his Parliamentary duties, and the unrivalled extent and thoroughness of his researches among the forgotten literature of this important period. These considerations must relieve him from any reproach of negligence in the prosecution of his work. But when we take into view the brevity of human life and the fatality which has attended the labors of so many of the English historians, every one must feel a deep regret that so long an interval should have elapsed since we had occasion to speak of Mr. Macaulay's earlier volumes. It is not without satisfaction, therefore, that we have noticed his recent retirement from public life, though we sincerely regret its immediate cause. His political services in the great struggle for the Reform Bill, in India, and as a cabinet minister, were various and important. They constitute no small part of his claim to the regard of future generations. But it is certain that a far greater service can be rendered by him as the historian of England, than any that can just now be performed in Parliament. No man was ever more thoroughly furnished for such a work; and it is much to be hoped that in the retirement of private life he may possess the leisure and the strength to complete his History according to the original plan.

The style of these two volumes is less animated and picturesque than that of their predecessors. Occasionally, indeed, it must be admitted that it is somewhat prolix and heavy. But the new volumes have the same copiousness of illustration, are enriched by the same breadth and depth of historical knowledge, and are pervaded by the same wise and liberal philosophy, that were apparent in the earlier portions of this History. No man has ever more clearly understood the true manner in which history should be written than Mr. Macaulay, or more successfully reduced his theories of historical composition to practice. So far as it has proceeded, his History, notwithstanding some minor defects, must be regarded as the most perfect work of its kind in our language. Henceforth whoever would rise to the first rank among historians must, to a very great extent, follow the method which he has adopted in the preparation of this work.

In considering the elements of Mr. Macaulay's just fame as an historian, we are inclined to regard his profound political philosophy as even more deserving of praise than the breadth of his information upon all historical questions, his luminous narrative, or his careful discrimination of individual character. In treating of the events of that memorable period over which his narrative passes, and in his references to questions of a more recent date, he exhibits the large views of an enlightened statesman. The years he has spent in the public service have borne rich fruit in these volumes; and no one can doubt that this History is the better for that training which has made its author both a statesman and an historian. Yet it is certain that his work will be attacked with great virulence by those writers who have always opposed the political opinions which Mr. Macaulay has so often defended in the House of Commons, and which underlie his History and give character to it, and doubtless some unimportant mistakes may be discovered. It may, however, be safely asserted, that in no important particular can the accuracy of his narrative, or the fidelity of his portraits of the men of the age of William and Mary, or the soundness of the judgments pronounced upon their measures, be successfully assailed.

The reign of William and Mary witnessed the inauguration of a new era. The change in the succession had involved other and even more important changes affecting the social and political condition of the people. Ever since the introduction of the Reformed religion, a century and a half before, an animated and often doubtful struggle had been waged between Romanism and Protestantism. But by the passage of the Bill of Rights, Protestantism had gained a signal victory in the exclusion from the line of succession of all who should hold communion with the Romish Church, or who should marry a member of that Church. The long struggle was now at an end, and Protestantism was henceforth to be the dominant religion in the state. Parallel with this great conflict between the antagonistic religions, an equally embittered strife had been carried on between the friends of prerogative and the friends of privilege, — between those who upheld the doctrines of passive obedience and the indefeasible right of kings on the one

side, and those who sought to enlarge the powers of Parliament and win new rights for the people on the other. This struggle was also terminated by the Bill of Rights, which virtually established the doctrine that the people are the real and ultimate source of all authority, and introduced a new precedent in constitutional law. Thus this reign began with the triumph of liberal opinions both in politics and religion.

It was chiefly through the force of William's personal character that the fruits of these great victories were secured to posterity. He was a descendant of that remarkable man, William the Silent, whose life forms one of the principal points of interest in the history of the sixteenth century, and whose character has been so well delineated in Mr. Prescott's recent volumes. From his great-grandfather he had inherited some of the most striking traits in his intellectual character, and especially the cautious and reserved habits which were so remarkable in both. His manners were cold and austere, and his temper was irritable; but he was candid in the judgment which he formed of others, and magnanimous in his treatment of his enemies. His intellect was clear and penetrating; but his nature was not sympathetic, and he formed few friendships. When his affections, however, were aroused, they were strong and deep; and for those who could penetrate the reserve in which he wrapped himself, his friendship was warm and enduring. As a soldier he was brave, fearless, and energetic. As a negotiator he was unsurpassed by any of his contemporaries. As a sovereign he constantly labored to restore England to her true rank among nations. Yet he was not popular; and during his reign public morality in England touched its lowest point, and the nation well-nigh became bankrupt. Nor has he yet risen to that place in the regards of Englishmen which is due to him in virtue of his own greatness and the important services which he rendered to his adopted country. It is true that his fame has been steadily growing, as men have become farther and farther removed from the intrigues of that degenerate age. Mr. Hallam, who has traced a masterly survey of this period, and who pronounces William the greatest man of his age, has done much to vindicate his just fame; and the views of this grave and

impartial historian have been followed by some more recent writers. On the other hand, Miss Strickland neglects no opportunity to blacken his character and depreciate his services. Her *Life of Mary the Second* only affords a specimen of the ingratitude with which the memory of this great and wise prince is treated by a large class of English writers. It was reserved for Mr. Macaulay to render full justice to his noble qualities and his pre-eminent services to the cause of civil and religious freedom; and in these volumes we have such an account of the first part of his reign as must for ever establish his true position in English history.

The Revolution of 1688 was effected by a union of parties who had few bonds of sympathy except a common opposition to the tyranny of James. Under the pressure of his arbitrary measures, they had for a time dropped their differences. Whigs and Tories, High-Churchmen and Dissenters, had joined in the support of a common cause. But no sooner had the outward pressure been withdrawn than their old differences revived. These differences became fully apparent within a very few weeks after the accession of William, and greatly aggravated the numerous difficulties against which he had to contend. The enthusiasm with which he had been received upon his arrival in England rapidly cooled when the danger was over. A reaction took place; and many persons would have welcomed the return of James with more or less of cordiality. "If King James were a Protestant," said Halifax to Sir John Reresby soon after the Revolution had been accomplished, "we could not keep him out four months." And about the same time the Earl of Danby told the same person, that, "if King James would but give the country some satisfaction about religion, which he might easily do, it would be very hard to make head against him." With a public sentiment so ill regulated as this, William was not likely to find his path particularly smooth. Yet his early measures were adopted with consummate skill. He did not forget that the invitation sent to him in the preceding June had been signed by both Whigs and Tories. Upon coming to the throne, he divided the principal offices among the leaders of both parties. The management of the foreign affairs he wisely reserved for himself; for, as Mr. Macaulay

well remarks, "with the single exception of Sir William Temple, whom nothing would induce to quit his retreat for public life, there was no Englishman who had proved himself capable of conducting an important negotiation with foreign powers to a successful and honorable issue." * Danby, one of the most eminent leaders of the Tory party and a man of experience and ability, was made President of the Council. Halifax, the most distinguished man in that small party who have been designated as the Trimmers, and who aimed to preserve a middle course between the two great parties, was intrusted with the Privy Seal. Nottingham, another distinguished leader of the Tories, a man of upright character but irresolute and vacillating in his conduct, was one of the Secretaries of State. With him was associated the Earl of Shrewsbury, a young man of brilliant parts and rich promise, whose appointment was calculated in some degree to reconcile the Whigs to the favor shown to the Tories in the selection of Danby and Nottingham. Such were the men to whom William first intrusted the great offices in the government. They had all taken part in the Revolution, and by their services to his cause they had secured a claim to his gratitude. But their principles were antagonistic, and though it was not incompatible with the theory of the constitution as then understood, nor with the practice of previous monarchs, to associate in the management of affairs persons of discordant views and even of hostile feelings towards each other, it was scarcely possible that matters could now go on harmoniously between statesmen entertaining such widely different opinions. Dissensions were inevitable; and dissensions speedily arose.

In the mean time, however, the fickle multitude were fast forgetting that William had been the deliverer of their country. They remembered the courteous manners of Charles the Second, his lively conversation, his fondness for amusements, and his familiarity with his friends; and their recollections helped them to draw many comparisons to the disadvantage of the great soldier and statesman, who never showed himself at the theatre, stood absorbed in thought even in the midst of his

* Vol. III. p. 14.

court, spoke harshly to the wife whom he loved, and pronounced their language with a foreign accent. It was fortunate, therefore, that Mary was personally popular, and that almost everything that was known of her was to her advantage. Her private life was free from reproach. Her devotion to the Church was open and avowed, and was allowed in some degree to balance the Calvinistic opinions of her husband. Unlike him, she was fond of books. Her manners were pleasing and graceful. "Her charities," says Mr. Macaulay, "were munificent and judicious; and, though she made no ostentatious display of them, it was known that she retrenched from her own state in order to relieve Protestants whom persecution had driven from France and Ireland, and who were starving in the garrets of London. So amiable was her conduct that she was generally spoken of with esteem and tenderness by the most respectable of those who disapproved of the manner in which she had been raised to the throne, and even of those who refused to acknowledge her as Queen. In the Jacobite lampoons of that time, lampoons which, in virulence and malignity, far exceed anything that our age has produced, she was not often mentioned with severity."* Yet it must be admitted that William's power was far more firmly established after her death than it was during her life. And however much the security of his throne in the early part of his reign may have been due to her noble and popular qualities, its principal support was undoubtedly in his own strong will and large capacity for government.

Three months elapsed between the proclamation of William and Mary and their coronation. This period was chiefly occupied in filling up the different offices in the state, and in the discussion of questions relating to the Church. In the first, much difficulty was experienced; for the harvest of iniquity which had been so plentifully sown in the reign of Charles the Second had now fully ripened. "From the time of the Restoration to the time of the Revolution," as Mr. Macaulay remarks, "neglect and fraud had been almost constantly impairing the efficiency of every department of the

* Vol. III. p. 53.

government. Honors and public trusts, peerages, baronetcies, regiments, frigates, embassies, governments, commissionerships, leases of crown lands, contracts for clothing, for provisions, for ammunition, pardons for murder, for robbery, for arson, were sold at Whitehall scarcely less openly than asparagus at Covent Garden, or herrings at Billingsgate."* Statesmen who had been trained in such a school were not likely to become suddenly honest; yet it was necessary to adopt such men, or else to take up men who had had no official experience, and who were entirely unaccustomed to the transaction of public business. It was the peculiar misfortune of William, in this state of affairs, to be surrounded by statesmen who were lamentably devoid of good faith, and who were constantly intriguing with the exiled king. If he had not been the ablest monarch who has ever sat upon the English throne, the Revolution Settlement could never have been maintained through the manifold perils which environed his path,—“against the mighty monarchy of France, against the aboriginal population of Ireland, against the avowed hostility of the nonjurors, against the more dangerous hostility of traitors who were ready to take any oath, and whom no oath could bind.”† We have already spoken of the manner in which the principal offices were filled. Among the minor appointments we may mention that of Arthur Herbert, who had been the bearer of the memorable invitation to William, and who was now made First Commissioner of the Admiralty; of Charles Mordaunt, afterwards so widely famous as the Earl of Peterborough, and Sidney Godolphin, admirably described by Mr. Macaulay, as “taciturn, clear-minded, laborious, inoffensive, zealous for no government, and useful to every government,”‡ who sat together at the Treasury Board; and of Devonshire as Lord Steward, and Dorset as Lord Chamberlain, both judicious appointments. Sir John Holt was made Chief Justice of the King's Bench; and Somers was appointed Solicitor-General. From this position he soon rose to be Keeper of the Great Seal.

Nottingham had brought into the Lords, very soon after tranquillity was restored, two bills designed to settle

* Vol. III. p. 61.

† Vol. IV. p. 808.

‡ Vol. III. p. 21.

the religious troubles of the nation. One of these, the Toleration Act, passed with little opposition, and has proved one of the chief supports of religious liberty in England. Mr. Macaulay has devoted several important and weighty paragraphs to a discussion of the character of this celebrated act, and of the principles embodied in it. But we need not follow him farther than to say that the act is in many respects open to grave criticism, though its effects have been in the highest degree beneficial. Many of its provisions are indefensible, and toleration is the exception rather than the rule in its whole construction. "Of all the acts that have ever been passed by Parliament," says Mr. Macaulay, after enumerating its provisions, "the Toleration Act is perhaps that which most strikingly illustrates the peculiar vices and the peculiar excellences of English legislation."* The other bill, known as the Comprehension Bill, was designed to prepare the way for such alterations in the liturgy and canons of the Established Church as would induce a considerable number of the Dissenters to reunite themselves with it. But the time for such a reunion had long since passed. The bill met with so much opposition from both Churchmen and non-conformists that it was allowed to drop. And though the Convocation was subsequently summoned for the further consideration of the subject, nothing was accomplished.

Whilst these events were transpiring in England, Ireland was the theatre of a fierce warfare between the Irishry and the English of the pale. The aboriginal Irish were then, as they have ever since continued to be, an ignorant and degraded people. Like every ignorant and degraded people when oppressed by unjust and tyrannical laws, and made to feel their own degradation, they hated their English masters with a blind and inconsiderate malice, which confounded all moral distinctions and largely contributed to bring ruin upon their country. This hatred showed itself under various forms, and needed only the excitement of the Revolution to burst forth in renewed violence. The evils, however, under which Ireland then groaned, and still groans,—the insecurity of life and property, and the general degradation of the

* Vol. III. p. 84.

people produced by superstition and misgovernment,—dated from a period long anterior to the reign of William and Mary. But at this time these evils assumed a new and more fearful importance; and it is in this period that we may trace the most rapid growth of many of those fierce animosities which have ever since made the government of that beautiful but wretched island the chief perplexity of every ministry in England. In his treatment of Irish affairs Mr. Macaulay has shown even more than his accustomed ability. The minuteness of his researches, the clearness of his narrative, and the picturesqueness of his descriptions, leave no point of interest untouched.

The most important event in the early history of the war in Ireland was the siege of Londonderry; and upon this memorable story he has lavished the whole strength of his narrative and descriptive powers. Of the place itself he has given us an interesting description, though it is less carefully elaborated than some of his other sketches. But in his description of that remarkable spirit and unwearied energy by which the town was successfully defended against a large and rapacious host for a hundred and five days, we have one of the most stirring passages in his History. During the siege, the dangers springing from famine and treachery were surmounted by the zeal, the patience, and the firmness of the besieged; and when after much delay the needed help was conveyed to them through many obstacles, the Irish army hastily retreated without accomplishing one of their objects. The citizens had suffered much in the defence of their homes and their religion. But the victory which they gained in the end fully compensated them for the sufferings they had endured, and contributed not a little to the final triumph of William in Ireland. "Five generations," says Mr. Macaulay, "have since passed away; and still the wall of Londonderry is to the Protestants of Ulster what the trophy of Marathon was to the Athenians." A lofty column surmounted by a statue of Walker, its most energetic and trusty defender, was erected upon one of the principal bastions, and may still be seen by the traveller for a considerable distance along the river. "The wall," Mr. Macaulay adds, "is carefully preserved; nor would any plea of health or

convenience be held by the inhabitants sufficient to justify the demolition of that sacred enclosure which, in the evil time, gave shelter to their race and their religion."* On the same afternoon that succor finally reached the almost disheartened people of Londonderry, another body of James's Irish adherents was totally defeated at Newton Butler. While these victories greatly raised the hopes of the supporters of William, they equally depressed the hopes of James, who had landed in Ireland some months before, and who, it is said, now thought of retiring to France a second time, in consequence of these reverses.

He had been present with the army before Londonderry during the early part of the siege; but finding that the attack was not likely to be attended with immediate success, he had withdrawn to Dublin and summoned a Parliament. When this body met, it was found that, although there were about a hundred temporal peers in Ireland, only fourteen had obeyed his summons, and of these, ten were Catholics. The House of Commons consisted of two hundred and fifty members, and of these only six were Protestants. "The list of the names," says Mr. Macaulay, "sufficiently indicates the religious and political temper of the assembly. Alone among the Irish Parliaments of that age, this Parliament was filled with Dermots and Geohagans, O'Neils and O'Donovans, Macmahons, Macnamaras, and Macgillcuddies."† Their measures were bold, violent, and sweeping. Among the various acts of cruelty and injustice which were passed during their short session, the pre-eminence belongs to the great Act of Attainder, the most sweeping and malignant statute ever passed in any Christian land by any legislative body. In this act were included the names of more than two thousand persons, who were subjected to its fierce penalties without trial or examination. At the head of the list "was half the peerage of Ireland. Then came baronets, knights, clergymen, squires, merchants, yeomen, artisans, women, children. No investigation was made. Any member who wished to rid himself of a creditor, a rival, a private enemy, gave in the name to the clerk at

* Vol. III. p. 239.

† Vol. III. p. 203.

the table, and it was generally inserted without discussion."* Such was the temper of James's Irish supporters. Such was one of the measures to which he gave his consent. And such was the tyranny from which William delivered England.

It was not only in Ireland, however, that scenes of cruelty and bloodshed were destined to mark the inauguration of the new era. Scotland was also the scene of war. The first of the chapters which Mr. Macaulay devotes to Scottish affairs, is perhaps the ablest and most attractive in these volumes, though all his chapters upon this subject are thorough and masterly in their treatment. His account of the intrigues and discussions in the Convention at Edinburgh is lucid and minute; but we cannot attempt to follow him through these details. The account of the rivalries among the Highland chieftains, and of the characteristics of that people around whom poetry and romance have thrown so false a light, cannot, however, be passed unnoticed. It is upon the whole one of the most striking parts of his work, and is undoubtedly one of those parts which will be most severely attacked. The picture which Mr. Macaulay gives of the Highlanders is, indeed, sharply drawn and darkly colored; but there is no sufficient reason for questioning its entire accuracy. The genius of Walter Scott found, and the partisanship of many other writers who resemble him only in their prejudices still finds, congenial employment in drawing fanciful sketches of the loyalty and the high sense of honor among the Highland chiefs and their clans. But the unwearied researches of Mr. Macaulay have overturned many fine theories, and set many facts in a new light. Even the devotion of the Highlanders to the exiled family is traced to interested motives, and much of it is shown to have sprung from hatred to the great house of Argyle. "Of all the Highland princes," says Mr. Macaulay, "whose history is well known to us, he was the greatest and most dreaded. It was while his neighbors were watching the increase of his power with hatred which fear could scarcely keep down, that Montrose called them to arms. The call was promptly obeyed. A powerful coalition of clans waged war, nom-

* Vol. III. p. 216.

inally for King Charles, but really against MacCallum More. It is not easy for any person who has studied the history of that contest to doubt that, if Argyle had supported the cause of monarchy, his neighbors would have declared against it. Grave writers tell of the victory gained at Inverlochy by the royalists over the rebels. But the peasants who dwell near the spot speak more accurately. They talk of the great battle won there by the Macdonalds over the Campbells."* This view is the key which unlocks Mr. Macaulay's whole treatment of this subject, and is unfolded and enforced with consummate ability.

His sketch of the social condition of the Highlands at this time, as we have already intimated, is singularly felicitous, and strongly tends to confirm this view of the secret of the support so often given by the Highlanders to the cause of the Stuarts. In an animated description of what would have been noticed by any sagacious and candid observer who should then have studied the Highland character, he remarks that such an observer "would have found that the people had no love for their country or for their king; that they had no attachment to any commonwealth larger than the clan, or to any magistrate superior to the chief."† Their code of morals and honor was such as is usually found among barbarous tribes. They did not consider it disgraceful to stab a man in the back, or to shoot him from behind a rock. The women gathered the harvest, whilst the men fished, hunted, or plundered some neighboring clan. Their religion was a corrupt form of Romanism, and they believed in the grossest superstitions. For literature they cared nothing; and books were extremely scarce, but not equally valuable. Their lodgings were mean and miserable; and their food was of the most wretched kind. They had some good qualities, however; and not the least of these was their devotion to the head of their clan, though it was a devotion which often entailed misery upon their country. Under the inspiration of this sentiment they now rushed into a new war, to which circumstances minutely detailed by Mr. Macaulay gave a character affecting the stability of William's power.

* Vol. III. p. 317.

† Vol. III. p. 304.

With the triumph of the Revolution the Campbells had recovered their former importance and their influence with the government. The son of that Marquis of Argyll whose head had been fixed on the 'Tolbooth of Edinburgh, was now in a position to claim satisfaction for the injuries inflicted upon his clan. When the news of his return from exile reached the Highlands, it naturally created much uneasiness among his enemies. A gathering of the hostile clans was the immediate consequence; and a messenger was at once despatched to James, who was then in Dublin, to secure his co-operation by fair promises of exertions in his cause. After some delay the command of this irregular and undisciplined force was assumed by John Graham, Viscount Dundee, a brave, skilful, and merciless soldier, whose name is familiar to every student of Scotch history. By his exertions something like order and harmony was infused into the Highland army; and under his command a signal victory was gained by them over the government troops commanded by General Mackay, in the pass of Killiecrankie. Dundee was shot in the commencement of the battle; but his death did not damp the ardor of the Highlanders. The rout was thorough and entire, and only a remnant of the defeated army remained undispersed; but victory in those days was scarcely less fatal to a Highland army than defeat, and soon the victorious clans severally withdrew to their mountain fastnesses. The battle of Killiecrankie was fought in the same week as the battle of Newton Butler, and served in some degree to revive the hopes of the Jacobites, so seriously affected by the unfavorable turn of affairs in Ireland. But, as Mr. Macaulay well observes, its importance was greatly over-estimated by both parties; and after a few unimportant skirmishes the pacification of Scotland was easily effected.

Just before the war in Scotland was terminated by the total defeat of the Highlanders at Dunkeld four weeks after the battle of Killiecrankie, the Convention Parliament adjourned. Their session had been long and exciting; but the amount of business transacted had not been proportionally great. "The last three months of the session," says Mr. Macaulay, "had been almost entirely wasted in disputes, which have left no trace in the

statute-book."* Among the most noticeable of their acts which did not directly affect the future policy of the government were the reversal of the attainder of Lord Russell, one of the most unjust of the many unjust acts of James's government; the passage of three bills annulling the judgments against Algernon Sidney, Henry Cornish, and Alice Lisle; an animated dispute about the case of the infamous Titus Oates; disputes about the succession to the crown and the Bill of Indemnity; and attacks upon Danby, now become Marquis of Caermarthen, and upon Halifax, whose moderate views made him obnoxious to both parties. Preparations were also made for a vigorous campaign in Ireland; and the command of the army was intrusted to the Duke of Schomberg, one of the greatest soldiers of his age and a well-tried friend of William. He had landed with the Deliverer at Torbay, and the House of Commons had voted him a munificent present to compensate him for his services and for the losses which he had sustained. Before leaving for Ireland he visited the House of Commons, in July, 1689, for the purpose of expressing his gratitude for this gift. Exactly a hundred and twenty-five years later, in July, 1814, the Duke of Wellington appeared in the same place to acknowledge a similar gift; and it is a noticeable fact, that in both cases the ceremonies were precisely the same. "Few things," as Mr. Macaulay happily remarks, "illustrate more strikingly the peculiar character of the English government and people than the circumstance that the House of Commons, a popular assembly, should, even in a moment of joyous enthusiasm, have adhered to ancient forms with the punctilious accuracy of a college of heralds; that the sitting and rising, the covering and the uncovering, should have been regulated by exactly the same etiquette in the nineteenth century as in the seventeenth; and that the same mace which had been held at the right hand of Schomberg should have been held in the same position at the right hand of Wellington."† The difficulties against which he had to contend in Ireland, however, owing to the wretched constitution of his army, its want of discipline, and its poor equipment, proved far greater than had been anticipated.

* Vol. III. p. 379.

† Vol. III. p. 414.

Comparatively little had been gained for the cause of William when winter set in after the army had been miserably shattered by pestilence; and the year closed with the Jacobites still triumphant. It was reserved for William himself to extinguish the hopes of his enemies by the battle of the Boyne in the following year.

Parliament met again on the 19th of October, and with a much stronger feeling of animosity against the Tories, who were now in a decided minority, than had been exhibited in the previous session. Many of the measures adopted, however, were wise and patriotic. The Commons resolved unanimously to support the king in the attempt to reconquer Ireland and to wage a vigorous war against France. They also speedily passed the Bill of Rights, which was little more than a formal enactment of the propositions contained in the Declaration of Rights, with some necessary additions, though it had given rise in the last session to disputes between the two houses. They also investigated the abuses in the navy and the conduct of the war in Ireland. But some of their other measures were characterized by the utmost blindness and violence of faction. The Earls of Peterborough and Salisbury, who had become disgracefully famous in the late reign, were sent to the Tower; and several other persons of lesser note were also sent to prison. A committee, commonly called the Murder Committee, was also appointed, to inquire who were answerable for the deaths of Russell and Sidney and others who had suffered for political offences under James, and conducted their investigations with much needless severity. Nor was this all. A bill had been very properly brought in for restoring the rights of those corporations whose charters had been surrendered in the time of the late king. To this bill amendments were moved by two zealous Whigs, William Sacheverel and Sir Robert Howard, for the purpose of disqualifying and punishing the functionaries by whom these charters had been surrendered; and immediately a fierce controversy sprung up which seemed likely to terminate in favor of the extreme Whigs, since many of the Tory members had gone into the country to spend the Christmas holidays. As the news spread that the question was to be decided at once, Mr. Macaulay tells us that "the whole kingdom was moved, from

Northumberland to Cornwall. A hundred knights and squires left their halls hung with mistletoe and holly, and their boards groaning with brawn and plum-porridge, and rode up post to town, cursing the short days, the cold weather, the miry roads, and the villanous Whigs.* The result was the defeat of the extreme Whigs. So rancorous, however, had these party quarrels now become, that William for a time meditated resigning the government of these factious subjects to Mary, whose English birth, education, and habits might invite from them a more hearty obedience to her government, whilst he withdrew to his native country. Fortunately for England, he was dissuaded from taking this step. He then determined to dissolve the existing Parliament, take the sense of the country by a general election, and place himself at the head of the army in Ireland. Thus ended the first year of the reign of William and Mary. England was torn by contending factions; Ireland was in open rebellion; Scotland had also been the theatre of civil war only a few months before, and was just beginning to be reconciled to the new order of things.

The elections, upon the whole, resulted favorably to the Tories, who secured a small majority in the House of Commons; but most of the leading Whigs, with the exception of Hampden, obtained seats. To the existence at this time of a Parliament not very friendly to the principles of the Revolution, or to the king personally, must be ascribed the development and rapid growth of Parliamentary corruption, that terrible evil which, it must, however, be admitted, saved England. To this subject Mr. Macaulay has devoted several of his most powerful and weighty paragraphs, full of striking facts and sound reasoning. In speaking of the appointment of Sir John Lowther as First Lord of the Treasury through the influence of Caermarthen, who had now become the chief minister, and of his personal defects, he adds: "There was also something to be done which he was too scrupulous to do; something which had never been done by Wolsey or Burleigh; something which has never been done by any English statesman of our generation; but which, from the time of Charles the

* Vol. III. p. 520.

Second to the time of George the Third, was one of the most important parts of the business of a minister." * When the monarch could punish any interference with the administration by sending obnoxious members to the Tower, the fear of such punishment was pretty certain to secure their good behavior. But with the growing strength and importance of Parliament, this could no longer be done with impunity; and some other means must be found to secure the silence or the support of ambitious and unscrupulous politicians. This was found in the direct purchase of votes. The expedient answered well; and the practice grew to such an alarming height, that "it at length became as notorious that there was a market for votes at the Treasury, as that there was a market for cattle in Smithfield." † Nor did the evil cease until the publication of the debates and the lists of divisions in Parliament had introduced a new element, by rendering the members in some degree responsible to their constituents. William was naturally averse to the use of such a despicable expedient; but at length the pressure of circumstances overcame his scruples, and he consented that it should be tried. "Nobody," he said to Burnet, "hates bribery more than I. But I have to do with a set of men who must be managed in this vile way or not at all. I must strain a point, or the country is lost." ‡

The first session of this Parliament was a short and not very important one. Upon its termination William carried into execution his purpose of attempting in person the conquest of Ireland, leaving Mary in charge of the government in England. In the middle of June he landed at Carrickfergus, a small town in the north part of Ireland, and immediately commenced preparations for a vigorous campaign. Ten days after landing, he began his march southward, and soon came up with the army of James, who had retreated as he advanced until they had finally established themselves on the southern bank of the river Boyne. William determined, against the advice of some of his generals, to cross the river and attack the Irish. On the 1st of July was fought that famous battle which crushed the hopes of James and pre-

* Vol. III. p. 541.

† Ibid., p. 546.

‡ Ibid., p. 547.

pared the way for the complete subjugation of the island. Mr. Macaulay tells us in his best manner how the victory was won through the bravery and discretion of William, the shameful flight of James, and the not less shameful cowardice of his soldiers, many of whom ran away almost without striking a blow. But we need not pause to narrate a story familiar to every student of English and Irish history. The first fruit of this victory was the capture of Drogheda, which surrendered the following day; and then, pressing forward, the victorious monarch entered Dublin in triumph four days after James had quitted it to seek safety in France. Here William remained but a few days before advancing against Limerick, where the defeated army had sought refuge. Upon his approach the French general then in Ireland, the Count of Lauzun, pronounced the place untenable, and withdrew with his troops to Galway. The city, however, did not surrender, and was skilfully defended by the Irish alone, under the command of Colonel Patrick Sarsfield, one of the most distinguished Irishmen of that age. The siege was prosecuted with much vigor; but the loss of his heavy artillery and the near approach of the autumnal rains compelled William to raise the siege and return to England, leaving for a second campaign the final accomplishment of the work so successfully commenced.

In the mean time England had been alarmed by the fear of an invasion, — that fear which more than any other fear alarms Englishmen. A naval battle had taken place on the 30th of June between the French fleet under Tourville, and the English and Dutch fleets under Arthur Herbert, now known as the Earl of Torrington. The latter had sustained an inglorious defeat, and had been compelled to take refuge in the Thames. Tourville was left master of the Channel; and the fear of an invasion rapidly spread through the country. “The French would conquer us”; so the English reasoned. “The French would enslave us; the French would inflict on us calamities such as those which had turned the fair fields and cities of the Palatinate into a desert. The hop-grounds of Kent would be as the vineyards of the Neckar. The High Street of Oxford and the Close of Salisbury would be piled with ruins such as those which covered the spots where the palaces and churches of

Heidelberg and Manheim had once stood. The parsonage overshadowed by the old steeple, the farm-house peeping from among beehives and apple-blossoms, the manorial hall embosomed in elms, would be given up to a soldiery which knew not what it was to pity old men or delicate women or sucking children."* The alarm quickly excited all classes; everywhere knights, squires, and tenants gathered to defend their homes and their churches. On the 22d of July the French fleet anchored in the harbor of Torbay. The watch-fires were immediately kindled on every height; all night, messengers rode hard to alarm the country; and in twenty-four hours thousands of soldiers and volunteers had gathered to the spot where it was supposed the landing would take place. But Tourville contented himself with burning Teignmouth, a little village of about forty cottages, and soon after set sail. The danger vanished with his departure; but the alarm had strengthened the government.

The third volume of Mr. Macaulay's *History* extends over two years; his fourth volume extends over seven years. And this difference in the scale on which each volume is composed very accurately indicates the relative importance of each period. Yet these years were marked by many important events, and by many of those social and political changes which have made England what she now is. But we can only indicate in the briefest manner a few of these events and changes, and the way in which they are treated by Mr. Macaulay. About the middle of January, 1691, William visited Holland, where he was received with every demonstration of joy by those who had so long known and loved him; and whilst there he attended a Congress at the Hague, assembled for the purpose of making arrangements for a more vigorous campaign against France. Of William's enthusiastic reception in Holland, of the great European coalition of which he was now the acknowledged head and principal support, of the numerous difficulties against which he had to contend in sustaining the zeal and harmony of its members, and of the military operations upon the Continent, both in this year

* Vol. III. p. 611.

and in subsequent years, Mr. Macaulay has given us an animated account, which leaves nothing to be desired, either in brilliancy of treatment or accuracy of detail.

Just after the return of William to England, the death of George Fox, the founder of the sect of Quakers, occurred; and this event, which would have been entirely neglected by most historians, affords Mr. Macaulay an opportunity for presenting a minute delineation of his character, and an interesting sketch of his doctrines. Every reader of Mr. Macaulay's earlier volumes will remember the portrait which he then drew of William Penn; and in the volumes now before us he has added some traits to strengthen and confirm the original sketch. But the likeness of Fox is drawn in still darker colors, and will be even more likely to excite the indignation of Quaker critics. In the following October, Limerick, the last strong-hold of the Irish Jacobites, yielded to the victorious arms of General Ginkell; but the garrison were permitted to march out with the honors of war. A considerable portion of them sailed for France, and entered the service of Louis the Fourteenth; some joined the army of Ginkell; and the rest dispersed in various directions. By the fall of Limerick the authority of William was finally established throughout Ireland. "The exiles," Mr. Macaulay tells us in language of admirable clearness and force, "departed to learn in foreign camps that discipline without which natural courage is of small avail, and to retrieve on distant fields of battle the honor which had been lost by a long series of defeats at home. In Ireland there was peace. The domination of the colonists was absolute. The native population was tranquil with the ghastly tranquillity of exhaustion and of despair. There were, indeed, outrages, robberies, fire-raising, assassinations. But more than a century passed away without one general insurrection. During that century, two rebellions were raised in Great Britain by the adherents of the house of Stuart. But neither when the elder Pretender was crowned at Scone, nor when the younger held his court at Holyrood, was the standard of that house set up in Connaught or Munster. In 1745, indeed, when the Highlanders were marching towards London, the Roman Catholics of Ireland were so quiet, that the Lord Lieutenant could, without the smallest

risk, send several regiments across St. George's Channel to recruit the army of the Duke of Cumberland." * Such was the effect of oppression on that degraded and uncultivated people. In the latter part of the same year those animated discussions about the policy of opening or restricting the trade with the East Indies, which had commenced some time previously, were again revived, and continued to be maintained with more or less earnestness for several years.

The commencement of the next year witnessed the fall of Marlborough, an event which previous historians, misled by the abject falsehoods of the spiteful old Duchess, have been unable to explain, but which Mr. Macaulay has fully and satisfactorily elucidated. The delineation of Marlborough which he gives us in these volumes is one of the most elaborate and successful portions of his History. To some readers, indeed, the character may seem to be too darkly colored; but no thorough and impartial student of English history will venture to dispute the accuracy of the portrait. Three other events of even greater importance also marked the course of this year,—the infamous massacre of Glencoe, the naval victory of Russell at La Hogue, and the origin of the national debt, the last of which is treated at much length, and in a singularly clear and statesmanlike manner. Though Mr. Macaulay does not attempt to palliate in any degree the infamy of the massacre of the Macdonalds of Glencoe, he labors to transfer almost the whole of his censure from William to the Master of Stair, by whose order this nefarious crime was committed. His views, we think, are in the main sustained by the facts of the case. William is only deserving of censure for intrusting to any one powers that admitted of so large an interpretation, and which were actually interpreted in the largest sense. For this he is deserving of grave censure; and in this respect we are inclined to go farther than Mr. Macaulay. But after all, the iniquity of the transaction was of Dalrymple's own devising.

The only events connected with the history of the next two years to which we can now allude, are the formation of the first ministry in England, according to

* Vol. IV. p. 113.

the present acceptation of the term; the failure of the expedition against Brest, information of which was conveyed to James by a letter from Marlborough, "the basest of all the hundred villanies of Marlborough," says Mr. Macaulay;* the origin of the Bank of England; and the death of Queen Mary. In speaking of the formation of the first ministry, Mr. Macaulay remarks, that "no writer has yet attempted to trace the progress of this institution, an institution indispensable to the harmonious working of our other institutions."† Accordingly, he devotes to this subject several pages of clear and rapid narrative and thoughtful discussion, closing with a not less admirable sketch of Sunderland, and followed by careful portraits of Russell, Somers, Montague, and Wharton, among the Whig leaders, and of Harley, Foley, and Jack Howe among the Tories. It was not many weeks after William had called Sunderland to office, when he was almost unnerved by the sudden death of Mary, whom he had loved with all the depth and fervor of affection of which his nature was capable. Of her death Mr. Macaulay has given us a beautiful and touching account, which we would especially commend to every one who has hitherto been inclined to form an unfavorable opinion of William's character as a man. During her sickness he scarcely left her bedside, and when he slept it was upon a little camp bedstead in the anteroom. As her last hour approached, she dismissed worldly cares from her mind and prepared for the final change. "After she had received the sacrament," says the historian, "she sank rapidly, and uttered only a few broken words. Twice she tried to take a last farewell of him whom she had loved so truly and entirely; but she was unable to speak. He had a succession of fits so alarming, that his Privy Councillors, who were assembled in a neighboring room, were apprehensive for his reason and his life. The Duke of Leeds, at the request of his colleagues, ventured to assume the friendly guardianship of which minds deranged by sorrow stand in need. A few minutes before the Queen expired, William was removed, almost insensible, from the sick-room."‡

The years 1695 and 1696 were marked by events of

* Vol. IV. p. 512.

† Ibid., p. 437.

‡ Ibid., p. 532.

scarcely less importance. On the Continent the allies gained some advantages over the French, which prepared the way for the peace of Ryswick in 1697. From the same period dates the release of the press from the restrictions which had previously fettered the free expression of opinions. Upon his narrative of the events and circumstances that led to this important reform, Mr. Macaulay has evidently bestowed the utmost attention, and the whole account has an unusual freshness and interest. As an evidence of the thoroughness of his investigations, we may mention that, in speaking of the unique collection of newspapers of the reign of William in the British Museum, he tells us he has turned over every page of the collection.* During this period the Jacobites were constantly plotting for the overthrow of the government or the assassination of William; but all these plots were fortunately detected, and their movers were punished. In one case, however, recourse was had to a dangerous exercise of authority, though it must be admitted that the culprit richly merited a punishment that could not be inflicted in the ordinary course of justice. We refer to the memorable case of Sir John Fenwick, all the circumstances of which are narrated and discussed by Mr. Macaulay with a particularity commensurate with their importance. Whilst England was agitated by these often-recurring plots, she was also passing through a terrible financial crisis, which for a time threatened the destruction of the country, and was only surmounted by the boldness and firmness of the government, and the momentary popularity of William, occasioned by the alarm and indignation of Parliament and the people at the repeated plots of the Jacobites.

But over all these domestic difficulties and dangers the genius of the great Deliverer triumphed. Nor was he less successful in his foreign policy. The coalition which he had upheld against a thousand perils had at length so far triumphed, that France expressed a willingness to treat for peace and to acknowledge him as King of Great Britain and Ireland. After numerous and vexatious delays, three treaties of peace were signed at Ryswick, in September, 1697. William had conquered a

* Vol. IV. p. 604, note.

peace both at home and abroad; and was now the acknowledged sovereign of the great and long oppressed people to whom he had brought the incalculable blessings of civil and religious freedom. Throughout England the rejoicings were hearty and long continued. Nor was it without reason that men rejoiced when they considered how great was the work that had been accomplished. "There was peace abroad and at home," says Mr. Macaulay. "The kingdom, after many years of ignominious vassalage, had resumed its ancient place in the first rank of European powers. Many signs justified the hope that the Revolution of 1688 would be our last revolution. The ancient constitution was adapting itself, by a natural, a gradual, a peaceful development, to the wants of a modern society. Already freedom of conscience and freedom of discussion existed to an extent unknown in any preceding age. The currency had been restored. Public credit had been re-established. Trade had revived. The exchequer was overflowing. There was a sense of relief everywhere, from the Royal Exchange to the most secluded hamlets among the mountains of Wales and the fens of Lincolnshire. The ploughmen, the shepherds, the miners of the Northumbrian coal-pits, the artisans who toiled at the looms of Norwich and the anvils of Birmingham, felt the change without understanding it; and the cheerful bustle in every seaport and every market town indicated, not obscurely, the commencement of a happier age."* Yet there were many dangers to be encountered before the last of the Stuart Pretenders should relinquish all hope of recovering the throne which his ancestors had so justly forfeited. For the future volumes of Mr. Macaulay's History we shall look with the deepest interest. In them we shall read that story traced with a skill never yet rivalled by any English historian.

C. C. S.

* Vol. IV. pp. 808, 809.

ART. V. — THE CHURCH AS A SOCIAL POWER.*

WE select the brief essay of Mr. Newman named below as the starting-place of our remarks, not because it corresponds nearest with our own thought, but because it is one symptom among many of the want to which we especially desire to draw attention. It states with great freedom and plainness, in its very title, what is the element of human life which the Church of the present day most needs to embody and adopt. And we care not at present so much to criticise what seem to us the errors of its theory, or the deficiency of its range, as to greet and honor, from whatever source, counsels given with so clear a purpose and so evident sincerity. The position in which the writer stands towards the religious public, and the defect of sympathy which so often warps his judgment of men and institutions, do not blind us to the admirable ethical character of his essay, or the reality of the want he has here expressed.

To speak indeed of a "Church" wholly aside from the community known as Christian, — nay, not so much as claiming to bear the name, or even engaging in a common worship, — will seem to many a mere contradiction of terms. The experiment, or the project of a *permanent* organization, for the highest of social ends, on the basis, not of spiritual sympathies and beliefs, but of reformatory work, is, if not quite novel, at least so wholly beside the range and the tests of ordinary experience, that there is no very obvious handle to a critique of its practicability; and at present we can only extend to it the equivocal and uncertain sympathy with which we greet any honest endeavor to meet any real want. If the basis of theological union is stricken from under men's feet, if the faith of the future is still too undeveloped to serve as a rallying-place, it is indeed a difficult and painful problem to devise the transitionary platform on which the chaos of cravings, creeds, and characters may be reconciled. That honest and cultivated intelligence, or that earnest and enlightened morality, which is outlawed by the for-

* *Catholic Union: Essays towards a Church of the Future, as the Organization of Philanthropy.* By F. W. NEWMAN. London: Chapman. 1854. pp. 113.

mularies of old establishments, or affronted by bigotry, indolence, and avarice, shielding themselves by the name of Christ,—where shall it find its place of rest? or, which is even a more earnest matter, where shall it find its sphere of labor?

Without discussing the answers given to this question in the several forms of “church-extension” and home missions,—so noble a feature of the religious life of England now,—we will consider for a moment that which lies before us in the present treatise.

It is drawn up under the following titles, which sufficiently indicate the course of argument: Idea of Catholicity; Property and Communism; Organized Institutions; Retrospect of the Catholic Church; Present State of Protestantism; Problem of Reconstruction; Doctrines of the Future Church; Work of the Future Church; Reform of the Sunday. It assumes, as “the winning principle of the age,” that *the Moral is higher than the Ecclesiastical*, and proceeds to define very briefly and clearly the separate functions of the Church and State, “on whose healthy antagonism all the progress of Modern Europe has depended.”

A considerable space is occupied by practical hints as to organizing and conducting the Associations which are to herald the coming synthesis of philanthropical reforms. From these we should infer that the author looks with more hope to the “secularist” movement, than our slight personal acquaintance with it would lead us to justify. We know, indeed, in other ways, that the heresies and crudities of social ethics mixed up in that movement have given him anxious concern; and that it is now (or was lately) a special task with him to combat them in its leading journal. The degree of sympathy and respect won towards that movement by the character of one or two leaders in it is hardly borne out, we fear, by anything decisive or very promising in the position of the party as such. And we reluctantly infer that Mr. Newman has overrated the degree of mental preparation for an organic change of the nature he suggests, among the class for whom (apparently) he writes,—the intelligent working-class of England.

In answer to the question, What is to be the fundamental ground of union? (since the conditions of member-

ship and exclusion must be somewhat strictly drawn,) he urges that "a moral test-creed will be as hurtful and absurd as a theological one"; and adds, that "it is not the profession of a *theory* that we must seek and accept, but the profession of a *practical intention*," — a test which, by the experience of our friends the Reformers, seems quite as fatal to a lasting fellowship, as that of common belief or worship, which he reluctantly disclaims.

Under the caption, "Reform of the Sunday," among many other suggestions to which we heartily assent, he argues at some length against the payment of religious teachers. "Philanthropic exertion," he says, "is an honorable service, which we must earn a right to undertake, by first feeding ourselves and those depending on us." (p. 110.) His general reasons — such as the offering of bribes to a mercenary temper, and so hurting the quality of a sincere service, and the wasting the forces of a Church among a crowd of petty sects kept apart by interested leaders — are what every thoughtful and conscientious man exposed to that temptation will feel at times painfully for himself. We need not repeat here the exhortations of St. Paul, or the protest of the Quakers against a "hireling clergy." No person of scrupulous moral feeling can quite disown some shade or echo of this reproach. Its only answer is to be found in the simple fact, that an institution whose efficacy depends on its permanency cannot as yet afford to lose the stability and strength given to it by a trained and cultivated class, identified with its prosperity and pledged to its support, and by the powerful class-sympathy existing among them. So that the question at bottom is, Shall the institution, as such, be sustained at all?

Our slight and imperfect notice we close by quoting the following paragraph: —

"To sum up: the popular creed presents to us an unholy Earth, an incorrigible World, an absent and offended God, an external mode of Reconciliation to Him, a distant and future sphere of Affection, and the evidence of Hearsay concerning all. In place of these, the new religion will teach a venerable Earth, an improvable World, a present and unchangeably benevolent God, inward Reconciliation of the human heart to Him, a present sphere of Affection and Exertion, and the evidence of personal Insight." — p. 84.

We do not consider that we have given undue prominence to an essay which sets before us the highest form of moral and spiritual truth recognized by that large, intelligent, and (shall we say) increasing body of Englishmen, who find themselves sundered from all church relation, and out of the pale of recognized Christian fellowship. The existence of such a class, not in England only, but in every Protestant community, is what no one can overlook. The transparent fiction which disguises it in Roman Catholic countries cannot conceal from us the fact, that, throughout Western Christendom, enormous multitudes are practically "unchurched." Very many of them drift vaguely through the various zones of scepticism and unbelief. For very many more, the best that we could hope as yet would be a seeking in earnest, "if haply they might feel after and find" a soul-satisfying faith. And nothing in the range of religious discussion is of more surpassing interest, than the relation of Christian truth to that class which this essay attempts to meet.

In the "subdichotomies of petty schisms," or else in the "surplice-brabbles and tippet-scuffles," of which Milton speaks as afflicting the Reformed Church of his own day, is it not possible that our generation also has lost sight of what touches its life more deeply? We allude not only to the fact that the visible Church of Christ so hopelessly fails of the unity and strength which seem implied in its claim of a divine commission; but to the yet more alarming fact, that a "spiritual power" in its largest sense, proportioned to the secular energies of the age, is scarce even thought of or wished for. Now, in theory, the Church is such a power. It proposes to embody and organize the highest moral conviction to which the soul of man has attained; nay, a faith which is the direct gift of God himself. And nothing so proves it untrue to its commission and its idea, as these vast provinces of moral and mental life, which it makes no pretence whatever of reclaiming. We have even forgotten, most of us, that the Church was ever designed to be such a power as that of which we speak. And if the Church has abdicated its high office, where shall we look to find a successor or a substitute?

We shall hope to make clear the point of this inquiry

before we have done. Meanwhile, need we urge its great practical importance? Is not the need confessed in the very existence of an institution which claims to represent the Divine purpose as bearing on human things? Has it not necessarily a relation to the moral wants and welfare of society, and social progress generally, as well as to the instruction and ennobling of the individual life? Is not its actual inefficiency seen in that democratic Erastianism of ours, by which the state usurps the supremacy over conscience, and man's law claims to be more sacred than God's? in the lamentable controversies which distract the moral forces of Christendom? in the existence of frightful social evils, which the State makes scarce an effort to remove, and to which the Church scarce ventures to allude? in the anarchy that prevails as to the first principles of Christian ethics? in the absence of any great common interest or faith pervading the forms of our social life? Sectarian efforts, doubtless, do something to supply the want on a limited scale; but on a large scale, the mental and moral energies of the age waste themselves in mutual collision and strife, instead of working, intelligently and powerfully, to a common end. There is still lacking an intelligent, thorough, and commanding organization of the profoundest moral conviction of men, such as may correspond with our completest notion of the Church of Christ, with forces proportioned to its work.

Now the phrase "spiritual power" (the nearest equivalent to the word Church, taken in its broadest sense) includes something more than worship and culture on the one hand, and something more than a mere "organization of philanthropy," on the other. It includes not only the well understood charge of religious or theological culture, and moral discipline; but also the whole field of education, and the advance of truth generally, ethical, religious, scientific, and social, — in a word, all the intellectual, moral, and religious interests of human society. It includes not only the nurture of kind affections, and the administering of charities in detail, but the apprehension of social laws, and the duties growing out of the largest and most general relations in which men are bound together. While it deals directly with men's motives, beliefs, principles, and moral discipline, — only in-

directly with those external facts and institutions which make the domain of the temporal power, or the State,—its sphere is yet coextensive with human life itself. Less than this, we conceive, is never claimed for “the Church” in the Christian Scripture, or can be admitted for it by any consistent advocate of its authority. Less than this surely cannot be implied in the equivalent phrase, “kingdom of God.”

But here our definition takes us so far beyond the range of the customary application of the word, that we must stay to consider a little further. Fortunately, we are met by an historical precedent; and one so far out of the reach of any controversy touching ourselves, that we can afford to give it its due weight. The Latin or “Catholic” Church of Western Europe did propose to itself the several objects we have already enumerated. It did include them in the theory of its organization. And, in a way however abhorrent to our present notion, it was for a course of centuries by far the completest type of “spiritual power” that the world has yet seen. And so a few words touching the nature and source of the authority of that Church will help us in tracing the conditions of the spiritual power we seek to embody in our own.

But, first, an illustration may be pardoned, showing how much more intimately its presence and power must have been felt in the ordinary affairs of life, than we can easily conceive where all our traditions are purely Protestant and republican.

It was towards the brilliant sunset of a June day that we passed from the old papal palace at Avignon,—its sights and memories of spiritual tyranny still fresh upon us,—and mounted the long flight of stairs at the cathedral front. Solemnly swelled the tones of the vesper chant from the deep gloom within, mingling with the peal of the city-bell from the street below. As we set foot upon the threshold, the thunder of cannon came echoing from afar, the signal of some high church-festival on the morrow; and then we stood in the gathering obscurity of that ancient pile, while the chant swelled more and more loudly, with the sound of trumpet and the pealing organ, and from above the great cathedral bell let fall as it were a cloud of deep sound that stole

softly upon the sense as the cloud of incense spread softly through the air, and still at intervals came the distant thunder of cannon, — till it seemed as if whole centuries had dissolved away, and the ghostly fabric of the Middle Age were brought visibly before us; and for once we felt the terror and the charm with which that mistress of men's souls wove her dark enchantments, — with what mystery and fear her voice must have gone abroad, when there were none as yet who dared to question her authority, when that enchantress-hand wielded the power both to kill and to keep alive! Near high noon, next day, in that sombre city, the same dread pomp of worship was repeated. And now no class, hardly a man, that did not seem to take part in it; not a feature of the city's life seemed to be unrepresented. The long procession, with banners, and priests, and school-boys, and little children, and the tender chant of women, and military music and array, and the provincial costume of men and maidens, and pealing bells, wound through the narrow streets, in honor of the "festival of God." Among many a scene of religious pomp to be witnessed in the picturesque and brilliant South, which is still the peculiar domain of Rome, in none has the sense been more pervaded with the atmosphere of another age, in none has a people's devotion seemed more real, or come with deeper pathos to the heart, than in the shadow of those gray yet terrible monuments of a persecuting Church.

Or take this other example. It is in the city of Bologna, at night. The kneeling and silent worshippers in several of the churches have borne witness to a season of more than common solemnity. In the great market-square a canopy is erected, having a picture or image of the Virgin suspended in it, and candles lighted as for some night-service. That it is an act of peculiar homage to the mother of the Lord is easily gathered; but it is with hushed and reluctant voice that one whispers of the *coléra*: it is in dread of the pestilence prevailing there that her aid is to be invoked. By degrees the crowd assembled in the square draws nearer to the altar, and the night-service begins. Under the long ranges and arcades, in the open air beneath the starlit sky, in narrow streets and porches that look towards the newly

erected shrine, on the steps of churches and public halls, stand the gathering multitude. First, with music of brazen instruments, sounds the loud chant from a company of priests; then a single voice, clear and powerful, pours forth the strains of supplication, flowing all over that ample space; and then, with the deep monotone of one loud instrument, ascends the response from that great multitude, the voice of thousands saying as the voice of one man, "Before thine image we bow down, humble and devout, Most Holy Virgin, and, united here in spirit, direct to thee the supplication of our hearts!" What ceremony or form of worship could be more tender, impressive, and sublime than this prayer of a great multitude, in that sad city stricken by the pestilence, as its strains rose and swelled under that calm night-sky!

Once more. It is noon among the mountains. The scene is one of those deep and beautiful valleys that guide to the southern passes of the Alps. It is the day of some religious festival, which gathers the simple villagers from their scattered homes; and to strains of unskilful music, and the noise of guns and bells, the scanty procession is seen winding slowly towards the little church. Plain, strong men, roughly clad, boys bred to the serious mountain air, maidens in their simple rustic attire, women whose voice floats tenderly and with a gentle pathos in the sacred song, — and then, borne reverently, a rude painted wooden image of the Holy Mother and her Child, spangled and crowned. This homely symbol of ancestral faith is set up there under the open sky; and gathering silently now the people offer homage, while priests chant the words of prayer. This singular rite of a worship which to us seems clear idolatry, is soon over; the humble retinue resumes its march, and fainter in the distance comes once more the song whose echoes die among the hills.

These are but slight and homely illustrations; yet they serve to hint at the familiar presence, the near and intimate agencies, the consummate art, by which that Church comes home to the hearts of its subjects. And so, even better than what is stately and historic (of which illustrations crowd on us as soon as the page of mediæval story is spread open), they help us to the

starting-place we choose for our argument. However fortified by Protestant prejudice or rationalistic temper, no one of ordinary sympathies can witness such a scene as we have described without confessing the presence of a spiritual power, developed and wielded with a skill, ripened by gray memories and long centuries of experience, such as he may have hardly suspected hitherto. And what, he asks, must have been that ecclesiastical fabric of the Middle Age to those who dwelt in its very shadow, when its tottering and ghostly ruin is a presence so inspiring and august?

It is needless to review the long and often blind and violent struggle by which, in the Western Church, the spiritual power was established in thorough independence of the temporal, or to recount the uses, needs, dangers, and abuses of that power. It is enough to say, what probably no one will deny, that it was the indispensable agent of European civilization, and that the intellectual and social position from which we may view the conditions of progress in our day would be both inconceivable and impossible without that agency. We attend now only to its *previous conditions*. The case which those who founded or developed it had to meet was this: to construct a basis for it wholly independent of any temporal authority whatsoever, and at the same time of a sort that should command the most absolute veneration and obedience of its subjects. That basis consisted (to generalize somewhat loosely) in these three things:—

The absolute divine authority of the religious system itself: this included the true Deity of its Founder, as vindicated in the Arian controversy, the Real Presence, and the Apostolic Succession, by which a sanction wholly superhuman and divine was given to the meanest of the consecrated servants of the Church.

The modified religious fatalism vindicated in the Pelagian controversy: this ensued from the doctrine of the soul's native corruption, and made the office of religion to depend on God's direct and personal agency, which could be secured only through the priests and sacraments of the Church.

The absolute perdition of all without the pale of the Church, and the modified perdition of all unfaithful to

the discipline of the Church, — the twofold terror of the future life, Hell and Purgatory, — which made the pivot of church power, and the impregnable support of ecclesiastical discipline.

Such was the foundation, wholly superhuman and unearthly, of that spiritual power which not only triumphed constantly in actual collision with the state, but which, in clerical hands, became an omnipresent agency of mental education and moral culture, and in general of all that belongs to the domain of the interior and social life. The regulation of marriage, the limiting or forbidding of divorce, the abolition of slavery, the minute discipline of conscience through confession, penance, and absolution, are among the moral efforts and enterprises, of magnitude, difficulty, and importance hardly conceivable to us now, by which the Church contended against social evils inherited from paganism, or chastised the passionate and fierce energies of barbarism.

“It must be admitted,” says Mr. Newman, “that the Church of those days did not take on herself the problem of infusing moral principles into worldly forces, and of thereby regulating their action. She discussed and solved (in her own way) questions which are not even touched in the New Testament; such as the rules of war, and the lawfulness of warfare to a Christian. Whatever the excess of ambition in the ecclesiastics, the Church collectively was not only the greatest moral power, but the most innovating and onward-moving element in society. Even the religious orders of those days were more progressive than conservative; and all the newest moral thought came out of the Church’s own bosom. This was to undertake (however imperfectly she fulfilled) the right function of a Church as distinguished from the State; and perhaps was the deepest fountain of her vast power.” *

Personal heroism in its servants — commemorated in so many legends of the saints — was both created and sustained by a disciplined executive skill worthy of the imperial city that was its citadel and home. Elementary religious and mental culture was expanded under its auspices into the university system of the Middle Ages; and the Church sought to incorporate within itself the

* Essay, page 45.

whole domain of men's intellectual, social, moral, and religious life.

That this attempt completely failed at last was in part owing to the inevitable abuse, but even more to the narrow and arbitrary foundation, of its prodigious power. The dogmatic system which it assumed is already obsolete, or going out of date. The effort of the last three centuries has been wholly to neutralize and discard it. However it may seem in the artificial world of technical theology, as a real agency for the spiritual and social guidance of the race it is wholly valueless; and the question for us now is, not whether we shall go back to it, but where shall we find a substitute.

Such a substitute we shall find in no rival dogma, or metaphysical creed,—where Protestant sects have vainly sought it now these three hundred years; but, if at all, in an assemblage of intellectual and moral conditions as true to the wants and life of our time, as those doubtless were to a previous age.

We must begin, then, by assuming the Church (for the occasion of our present argument at least) to be even less a teacher of truth — since it is not yet agreed upon a consistent and authoritative system of truth — than *a social fact and a social power*. This the Protestant Church among ourselves still is, whatever we may say of the variations of its creed. And, for our immediate purpose, we assume its various organizations as the nucleus, or starting-place, or rudimentary condition, of the larger structure we have in view. It is in this that we chiefly differ with Mr. Newman, according to whose notion the Church seems to us rather a fabrication than a growth, not having its roots sufficiently imbedded in the past; and, especially, to fail in the essential element of authority. But of this farther on. The actually existing church or churches we accept, as embracing and furnishing to our hand precisely the elements of traditionary prestige and strength, and direct access to the springs of action in the individual, which we want first of all. If incompetent hitherto to fulfil its true social function, it is that it has not allied itself with the dominant ideas, and identified itself with the highest life, of the present day.

By the term "Church," (adopting the mystical lan-

guage of the New Testament for our guide,) we understand no visible and outward organization; but rather the "spiritual body" co-ordinate with the exterior and visible body, whether of the parish, the state, or the Christian world,—for more or less vaguely its use is familiar in all these ways. This, rather than any more limited and technical signification, seems to us best to embrace the circle of religious associations that belong to it, and to convey its true import as naturalized in our best literature. It is the embodiment, varying from age to age, of that divine life shed through Christ upon the world. It consists (to attempt a nearer definition) in the aggregate of those *living religious agencies* which we methodize and incorporate in our associated religious life. After the analogy of the physical organism, it has its own laws of growth and decay; it is acted on by vital influences, subject to its own conditions of health, continuance, and change. For its function, it is intrusted with a definite charge in the sacred interests of charity and truth. It may be reflected, or represented, in the humblest organization "where two or three are gathered"; but such, in its true general acceptation, is that "holy Church Universal" which is ever organic and one.

Again, the first office of the Church, as we find it practically, is to bring together in spiritual fellowship, for a religious end, those of every class, occupation, opinion, or outward circumstance. Ideally conceived, it should know no more of sects in theology than of parties in politics.* Its particular service is, to give distinct form and expression to the religious emotions, convictions, and hopes of a Christian community; to train mind and heart in the principles of pure morality, as applied to all the wants, situations, and exposures of common life; to give religious aim, purity of motive, and exalted principle to the young, consolation and support to the feeble, the distressed, the helpless, and the old; to hold as it were the balance, and apply the test of eternal and immutable right to forms of thought diversified and innu-

* In this hint we express not an arbitrary fancy merely, but an actual tendency. The fact is no longer disguised, or deniable, that a very large number of "Orthodox" church-members are Unitarian in belief. Even the Thirty-Nine Articles do not bar the Church of England against the intrusion of the freshest heresies.

merable, that come before the public mind. It does its work, not by dint of theories, or sacraments, or religious exercises merely, but by a combination of living religious agencies, by which it lays hold on the individual conscience, instructs the general reason, and deals with the passion, motive, enterprise, hope or fear, conduct or endeavor, that mark our personal and public life. This is the work which the Church professes to undertake, and which, however imperfectly, it actually to some degree performs.

But, not to confound the whole function of the Church in this its main and primary office of personal spiritual culture, let us look at it also as it bears on the great wants and wrongs of human society. There are charities needing to be wisely administered; there are definite evils, social or "organic" sins, to be overcome. As to each of these, the experience of the past few years may be of great service, as helping us to understand the nature and conditions of the "spiritual power" which we need. The chief danger experience shows us, as some will say, is bigotry or exclusiveness; as others, moral cowardice; or, as we should rather say, a consenting to limit unworthily, through a mistaken policy, or a narrow apprehension, our conception of the Church itself. The danger may be a real one, and may show itself in all these ways; but it is not to be overcome by mutual exhortation or bitterness of reproach. It is all the more real, and perhaps only real, because we are in want of any clearly recognized basis of authority on which it may rest, — an authority as absolute and independent as that of the mediæval Church, but suited to a set of conditions wholly different and new.

The question of authority, therefore, as appealing both to intellect and conscience, is the first which we have to meet, — authority, that is, not as felt and operative in *our* conscience merely, but such as may be recognized and effective in dealing with other men, or with society at large. Truths which no intelligent man can dispute, principles which no honest man can deny, would seem the first condition to make such a power as we speak of possible. And how are these to be had? A genuine spiritual power, to be exercised on any large scale, cannot reside in any mere metaphysical creed of

so-called "abstract truths" and "absolute rights"; still less in a style of theological dogma, which lies at the mercy of a scholastic criticism, and is itself at issue in the controversies of the day. And for anything further or more definite than this, we are still to seek.

Many will content themselves by asserting the divine and ultimate authority of the Christian Gospel, and of the moral principles announced therein, as the statement of moral truth in its highest purity. And, once recognized and accepted by the conscience, this does give us precisely the authority we want, — at least in the sphere of the individual life. But that authority fails us just where our present want is, — in the applying of Gospel principles to social fact. As recognized by ourselves, — that is, by the Protestant world, as distinguished from a Church professing to occupy the entire field of human life, — it rests on the sentiment of personal loyalty, it belongs to the sphere of personal religion; for social ethics, or the religion of humanity, the same truth requires to be stated in another way. See how various is the application, how conflicting the interpretation, of the plainest moral precepts to social wants and wrongs! Slavery, pauperism, intemperance, the discipline of crime, — how perplexed is the whole matter of biblical criticism, no less than social practice, about them all! Given Christian love, as the informing and pervading spirit, we need a new, independent, and larger grasp of truth, in some authoritative form, to aid us in giving shape and coherence to our creed of social ethics; we need a new style of moral discipline to make that creed dominant and effectual.

Our question then recurs. Some will already look on it as a hopeless one. Where, amid the discordance of Christian sects, and the controversies that so rack the political world, and the moral anarchy that so hides and confounds our prospect of the future, may we find a certain basis of Authority? where is the intellectual basis of Truth, impersonal and independent as the doctrinal fabric of Catholicism, but, unlike that, adapted to the intelligence and culture of a scientific age? where the authoritative creed of Morals, that may decide new controversies, and match the vast undisciplined forces of our present civilization? — authority so broad

and clear and firm as to redeem the mind from feebleness and fear; so generous as to win, by pure spiritual persuasion and the omnipotence of truth, the willing reverence of men; so strong as to hold in check an age and a people of passionate and wayward liberty!

The only answer that can be given as yet to such a question is this: that the authority we speak of must grow up slowly, as the mature result of thorough mental and moral discipline. The last word of the scientific mind and social experience of men must be its authentic exposition. The seat of the only authority to which an age like ours can appeal, is in the educated sense and conscience of men; generalized, indeed, in the ethical maxims of Christianity, but to be reconciled with the largest and latest experience, and freest mental tendencies, of the human race, — science and faith to be perfectly reconciled in one. The more irregular, uncertain, and slow the process, the more certainly it is needed. The Catholic Church was a thousand years — from Paul to Hildebrand — in bringing its power to full maturity; and it may well be a century or two before one more enduring and deeper laid shall be constructed out of the chaos that attends the disintegration of that wondrous fabric.

Then as to the previous conditions of such authority. We have seen that, for the Middle Age, these were found in the doctrinal development of the Western Church, — in that array of metaphysical dogma which has been the point of departure of every dogmatic system since, and which Protestantism has done little else than revise and trim to more modern fashions. Meanwhile, an independent growth of thought has assigned conditions of another sort, to which it will henceforth compel respect. Moral or religious truth must be organized in harmony with the severest intellectual demands of a scientific age. Not that we are to substitute science for conscience; or overlook the fact, that all authority of avail for the life has its hold upon the religious nature. But it has its intellectual conditions too, to which social ethics, or the religion of humanity, however much in earnest, must fain submit. Right thinking is the needful forerunner of right acting: the hotter the action, the cooler the thought. Truth is sovereign in all souls that recognize it. And it is by accepting the truth offered us

from every quarter, that we shall by degrees secure the firm foundation of that Authority to which both ourselves and others must render homage.

This process implies a more intellectual and scientific treatment of social wants and evils than has been prevalent hitherto. Men who are capable of such discussion must show the way, and men capable of understanding them must follow. The many directions in which we need, just at this time, resolute, faithful, and profound investigation of such topics will at once suggest themselves. The Church forfeits the dignity of her position, and surrenders her grasp upon the future, as soon as she knowingly consents to shut herself out from them. If her existence is to be justified, if her claim of a Divine commission is not a mockery, she is the organ, though as yet imperfect, weak, and out of joint, of a Power whose full development is reserved to a coming age. Absolute Truth, which is impersonal and divine, is the basis of her authority. And just as she is sincere in accepting and resolute in proclaiming it, will she inherit that invincible faith of the mediæval Church — witnessed in the stern consistency of its ambitious policy, and in every unfinished cathedral-tower — in a Future that shall complete its work. Faith in her own future can exist only by allegiance to the Truth, which is one and eternal.

But as a herald or interpreter of truth, the Church can be at best but one among a multitude of agencies. Its special province seems to be to organize the conscience and moral life. A vague and passionate protest against existing evil is but the feeble first essay of its strength, — inevitable and right, but ineffectual; while the maturest and clearest thought is barren, until interpreted in act. Here is a point where the humblest and feeblest of existing churches can do its share. And so with the Christian Church at large. Its great and most potent agencies will doubtless always be the culture of mind and heart at home, — the sympathies, associations, and spiritual influences that belong to it in virtue of its inheritance from the early Christian age. But already, in its incipient missions and works of charity, to say nothing of the special movements of reform that have "come out" from its bosom, it recognizes something of its larger claim. The moral forces of Christendom are get-

ting slowly organized. And we do not know that we can better express our conception of the Church as it should be, than by saying that it shall hereafter reconcile, in one harmonious and powerful league, all those agencies which now sustain the separate and too often hostile organizations of churches, charities, and reform; that, in a word, it shall be to the free and expansive moral life of the present day what the Catholic Church was to that of a thousand years ago.

Any less broad or elevated conception seems to us wholly unworthy of the subject and the time. The Church cannot claim its true position, as the spiritual power we need, until, with a better understanding of its position, and a more intelligently concerted effort, it undertakes the twofold task thus laid upon it by the condition and wants of society. It is not so much the change of present instruments, or the multiplication of them, that we require, as a clearer consciousness that by means of them we are working to so vast issues, and with so goodly a fellowship; that in proportion as a thought or a deed of ours corresponds with a real want, or is in league with an eternal truth, we are working towards the building up of the Christian structure of the future, which shall realize to another age the kingdom of God on earth, in a larger and truer sense than the structures of the Christian civilization of the past.

And it is with the conviction that our position in the theological world brings us into nearer harmony than others with the thoughts and purposes of God for the coming age, that the above view is urged. Once clearly seeing its position, and true to it, the Congregational Church of New England generally has within easiest reach the handling of that power.* We have strong faith in its capabilities, imperfectly as they have hitherto been developed. Not, certainly, that this or any other will monopolize or appropriate to itself that exercise of power which must be shared among many by the very genius of a Protestant republic; but that it seems less than any other trammelled by adverse conditions. It

* "Of all existing clerical bodies," says Comte, "that of the United States seems to me the only one which holds a true spiritual power, — i. e. an authority, at once mental and moral, resulting from the free consent of a public liberated from all external constraint."

deals more simply and directly with the moral forces it seeks to guide, while it retains at least as strong a hold upon old reverence, and the living traditions of the past.

And for ourselves in particular, no other denomination of Christians, perhaps no other visible society among men, is as well prepared as that termed "Liberal," to accept the elements of it in all their simplicity and strength. The fictitious and declining theologies of the past, so strange to the cultured understanding of the present age, we have outgrown, without the loss of the sacred sanctions, sympathies, and hopes that are the inheritance of the Church of Christ. This twofold condition we have already attained. Limited as we are in number, and shut out by our very name from many a sacred privilege we covet, it would be the inflation of sectarian vanity to claim for ourselves exclusively the inaugurating of that spiritual power which shall meet broadly the whole fact and want of the time. It is an alliance, not a fusion, of moral forces that we would bring about. We seek the control of others as little as we surrender to them control over us. But we may at least, by the advantage of our position, do more (we claim) than any other religious body to define and realize to ourselves the true conditions of that power, and, under Providence, to be heralds of the way. The Church feeling, based on affectionate loyalty to God and Christ, is deepening among us year by year: let it be followed up by a larger and truer apprehension of the Church's function as a consecrated, divine agency in human life. Then it shall be our commission to lay deeply and broadly the foundation of that "spiritual house" which is our Lord's temple for the coming age.

But the Church is of no sect, and represents no exclusive tendency. Intellect trained by the methods of modern culture, and in the arena of modern controversy, conscience grasping still a wider range of moral vision, with the rich fruits of Christian experience which near twenty centuries have brought to ripeness, all have their place within its shelter. The very test of its divine commission is, that in each regard it embodies the purest and noblest life of humanity.

Too long has the assertion of that commission been the shield of spiritual despotism or narrow and mean

ambitions. In the Church of Christ that shall be worthy of the name, society needs not an arena for the strife of tongues, not a university of popular debate, not stray bands and isolated groups of theorists, to speculate about the past and future and metaphysics of our Faith. It needs leagued and earnest men to do its work. It needs to have the broad way of Truth thrown open, for the reconciliation of jarring sects. It needs the more large and complete development of a "spiritual power" commensurate with the life, the intelligence, enterprise, and moral energies of this age, which may control the antagonisms of a rude civilization, and soothe the bitter strifes of party. Already lines of old division fade, like constellations of the night in the kindling dawn; and soon, let us trust, we may guide our brotherly steps by the risen sun.

We close in the language of our author, from whom we are too often compelled to differ not to welcome with frank acknowledgment such words as these:—

"Neither in religion nor in morality do I believe that we can wholesomely or reasonably cut our connection with the past, wherein are the roots which fed our moral life. . . . For as the very rich grow rapidly richer, so the most wealthy in religious wisdom have most power of increasing their wealth, if at least there be the stimulus of practical life. Without this, wisdom-getting is a kind of miserly hoarding, of which men grow tired: and even in pure science, the call of practical problems has been needed to stimulate high discovery. But if a spiritual church were truly in organic connection with daily active philanthropy, each part would aid to develop the other. Philanthropy would impel to discussions of morality, and constantly throw new lights on religious questions: religion would reanimate the soul of philanthropy, and by its intense energies fortify it for all self-denial and all simplicity of individualism. Much, much will become possible, when the New Church rises into power for action: until then is a time for preparation,—a time of lamenting and secret groaning over the unremedied evils of innocent millions,—yet a time, not of despondency, but of hopefulness; for the dawn already glimmers, and our children will see it rise."*

J. H. A.

* Essay, pp. 112, 113.

ART. VI.—POETRY.

EASTER.

LET our thoughts go back on this Easter day,
And kneel by Christ's tomb so holy, and pray ;
And as we are kneeling, can we not hear
Those words so comforting, priceless, and dear :
“ Why seek ye the living among the dead ?
The Lord has arisen ! ” though years have fled,
Even now in our deep souls they vibrate still,
And more humbly we bend to the Father's will,
Feeling death can but strike the poor trammels away,
Spirit riseth in glory, but earth can decay.
And feeling besides, that, though risen above,
Christ dwells with us still by the might of his love.
Can we not hear him, as once when he said,
“ Come unto me, all ye living, ye dead,
Come unto me, ye weary, ye laden,
Rest I will give you, — a peaceful haven ;
My yoke is easy, my burden is light,
My cross shall uphold you when darkest the night !
I will pray to the Father, and he shall give
The Spirit of Truth in your hearts to live, —
My messenger faithful, whom ye shall know
By the comfort and strength that he will bestow.”
In teachings like these, we hear his mild voice
Still pleading with all to awake and rejoice.
Our Christ hath arisen ! O Father, we raise
Our voices on high in loud pæans of praise,
For the Son of thy love, whom in mercy thou 'st given,
For his cross on the earth, for his crown in the heaven.

A. E. G.

SIR JOHN FRANKLIN'S EXPEDITION.

Not with the clang of arms,
Or trumpet's loud alarms,
Or weapons that should drip with human gore,
Went out th' adventurous band
Unto the frozen land,
To fight the Frost King on his own bleak shore.

Science sailed with them forth
Unto the ice-bound North,
And bade them wrest her secrets from His hold;
With purpose firm as steel,
Thought fixed on future weal,
She armed, instructed them against the cold;

For the long, dazzling day
Of months' enduring ray,
And equal night of dull, funereal gloom;
The winter's fearful length,
The cold's death-wielding strength,
The earth enshrouded as in Nature's tomb.

Sleet mailed each mast and shroud,
Vast icebergs cracking loud
Threatened them hourly with o'erwhelming fate;
On pressed the noble crew,
With hearts as firm as true,
To bid the Frost King stern unbar his gate.

So passed they on from sight:
Uncertainty's dark night
Hung o'er them, clouded by the veil of years:
Eyes dimmed in many a home,
Watching to see them come,
Or wept as for the dead with bitter tears.

Traces at length are found,
And mournful tales spread round,
And with earth's martyrs are their names enrolled;
The North its secret keeps,
The Frost King grimly sleeps,
Safely environed by the ice and cold.

Science alone remained,
Baffled and speechless, pained
That human life must yield to Nature's power;
But still for unknown quest
She fills men with unrest,
And loads with wondrous dreams the Future's hour.

ART. VII. — STRAUS-DURCKHEIM'S NATURAL THEOLOGY.*

JOSEPH DE MAISTRE has somewhere said, that we are still living in the eighteenth century, meaning thereby that the age of revolution and anarchy has not closed. We like better the more just and discriminating views of Jouffroy, who holds that the intentionally destructive period in the great sceptical era has past; that the present age is eminently reconstructive, at least in purpose, most of its disorders originating in the over-eagerness or want of judgment with which its thousand plans of reconstruction are urged. However this may be, one thing is plain. Though there is a sense in which it may be said that the same movement is still going on, the spirit which presides over it is very different from that which prevailed in the days of the Encyclopedists, and of the first French Revolution.

The books under review afford a good illustration of this change. The author, one of the most distinguished among the elder living naturalists, begins the Preface of the first-mentioned work with these words:—

“Animated by the most lively admiration of the wisdom and beauty manifest in the organized beings whose structure I was studying, and with a heart penetrated with sentiments of reverence and love for the Omnipotent Author of so marvellous a work, I long ago formed the project of some day closing my scientific career by publishing the most remarkable facts in natural history which had come under my observation, serving to demonstrate the fundamental truth, that not only all living beings, but the entire universe, is the work of an Almighty Intelligence, who drew it out of nothing,—an Intelligence whose existence has generally been admitted hitherto on the sole testimony of an instinctive voice within, which commands most men to believe in a Supreme Being. As those, however, who do not hear, or who distrust this voice, must be without this conviction, they are left in unhappy doubt on the whole subject, if indeed,

* *Théologie de la Nature.* Par HERCULE STRAUS-DURCKHEIM. Paris. 1852. 3 vols. 8vo.

Catéchisme raisonné d'une Doctrine Religieuse conforme à la Théologie de la Nature; c'est-à-dire fondée sur des Preuves Irréfragables tirées des Faits propres aux Sciences Naturelles. Par HERCULE STRAUS-DURCKHEIM, Docteur ès Sciences. Paris. 1855. 12mo. pp. 71.

more deplorable still, they do not fall into atheism. Besides, why seek in uncertain indications the demonstration of this important verity, when it can be seen so evidently, written as it were by the hand of the Eternal, in the sublime organisms of living beings; — veritable symbolic hieroglyphs, each one of which confirms, in its admirable complication, the entire doctrine of a sound theology, thus made to rest, as it should, on the observation of facts, and the incontestable conclusions of reason deduced therefrom; proofs which will not permit the slightest hesitation even in minds the most sceptical, nor afford the least refuge for deception or bad faith."

This purpose he carried into effect in 1852, his age and the rapid failure of his sight having admonished him that the time for this appropriate and graceful termination of his scientific labors had come. Not content, however, with teaching theology to such as could follow him in his scientific method, he has, during the last year, given the substance of his learned treatise in the form of a brief Catechism, accommodated to the minds of the young. Here his theology becomes a positive religion, including a great variety of inculcations respecting a future state, prayer, the times and modes of worship, inspiration and free-will; and also details respecting our moral and religious duties, not overlooking our duties to animals. In both works his relations to Christianity, in respect to its foundation and authority, are unsatisfactory; but, especially as regards its spirit and teachings, they are far from being antagonistic. Thus, in speaking of its Founder, he says: —

"No man nourishes at the bottom of his heart a sentiment of profounder admiration than I do for the sublime qualities of Jesus Christ, whose sweetness of temper and ineffable goodness, extending even to generous indulgence, and, above all, his piety, so rigorously pure, command for him the most respectful veneration; especially as he carried his fervent faith and love of neighbor to the extent of devoting himself to a martyr's death, that he might seal with his blood the new covenant with God which he has formed in his own person among his disciples, in thus giving to men the sublime example of preferring to suffer the most frightful punishments rather than falter in the least in the trial of their faith in God, — a sacrifice by which he has become THE SAVIOUR OF ENTIRE HUMANITY, in leading mankind to comprehend their real duties towards the Supreme Being. But my conscience will never permit me to elevate him so far

in my thoughts as to assimilate him to the Divinity, accepting as an article of faith the assertion of those who, of their own head, have proclaimed him *the only Son of the Eternal God*, and this, too, in contradiction to what Jesus Christ has many times said of himself; much less can I adopt the doctrine first advanced by the early Christians, who, carrying their enthusiasm farther still, identified him with the Creator himself. Veritable blasphemy! by which they would reduce the Divinity to the level of men, in pretending that the Supreme Being has descended so far as to take a mortal form in order that he might instruct men in the holy doctrine he wished to have taught, and *offer up himself as a holocaust for the ransom of the human race*. From the analysis which I am going to give of the Gospels, it will be seen how little foundation there is for these dogmas."—*Théologie de la Nature*, Vol. III. pp. 9, 10.

His language in speaking of the Christian miracles is more guarded:—

"As to the miracles of Jesus Christ, recorded by the Evangelists, I have, as in the case of those ascribed to Moses, no occasion to discuss their reality in the present work. If Jesus Christ really had power to work miracles, it belongs not to me to deny it; their impossibility cannot be established by *demonstrative proofs*, the proofs on which I everywhere found the assertions I advance, and especially my negative assertions. I must, therefore, leave this inquiry to metaphysicians and psychologists, who are more competent than I to determine it."—Vol. III. pp. 17, 18.

With all this language of reserve, it is nevertheless but too plain that the author regards the supernatural origin of Christianity as unproved. Like Kant, he reveres the Gospel and accepts it, as far as he accepts it at all, on moral grounds alone. In his "analysis," as he terms it, of the Old and New Testaments, filling nearly a quarter of his three volumes, he everywhere adopts the expositions of writers of the Naturalist School, so much in vogue in the early part of the present century. According to him, Jesus Christ completed the moral and religious reform which Moses began; that is, he became the teacher of *a pure theism*, inculcating not merely the doctrine of the unity and perfections of God, which the Jews had received long before from their great lawgiver, but also that of eternal life and a righteous retribution. It is to the credit of theism, thus understood, that it was laid down by such a teacher; yet as he does not concede

to this teacher divine authority, or assume that he was inspired in any proper sense of that word, it does not follow that what he laid down must be true. According to the author of the work before us, we still have a right to demand *the proof*; and proof, abundant and overwhelming, he undertakes to give.

He considers that this proof is to be found chiefly, if not exclusively, in the organized bodies of living beings. In many inorganic substances, in crystals, for example, there is orderly arrangement; and still more, in the motions of the heavenly bodies, and in the forces by which they are held in their orbits; so that, supposing the existence of God already established, we find there most impressive indications of his wisdom and power. But he thinks it difficult, if not impossible, to begin by *demonstrating* the non-eternity of matter, or that these effects might not result from the essential properties of matter, or from what we call its laws. However, we are glad to see that his own *theory*, even of the inorganic world, is entirely removed from all atheistic or pantheistic leanings.

Thus, in respect to the origin and constitution of matter itself, four theories have been entertained. The first is, that God created it out of nothing in the beginning; the second, that matter in substance has existed from all eternity, but as mere chaos, until God, by clothing it with its present properties, began to subject it to order and law; the third, that matter, with its present properties and laws, has existed from all eternity, so that when it is said God *created* the world, nothing more is meant than that he constructed it out of pre-existing materials; and the fourth and last, that matter, with its present properties and laws, has existed from all eternity, and that the universe is the necessary result of the same, no Creator being required or supposed. Only one of these theories is openly and essentially atheistic, but the author of this work adopts the first; the same which is generally held in the Church, and which admits a creation in the fullest and strictest sense. Against the last or atheistic theory he argues with some subtilty, and from a purely scientific point of view.

“ Finally, if we examine the hypothesis which makes matter to have possessed and manifested from all eternity the same

properties as now, one inevitable consequence flowing from it is, that nothing could ever have commenced by effect of those properties, seeing that all commencement supposes *a time anterior* to such commencement; — a time which could not have been, inasmuch as the effects must have been equally eternal with the causes producing them. That is to say, the form, the structure, and the disposition of the stars are from all eternity what they are to-day, contrary to the demonstration of Laplace; in other words, the periods which the several stars run over could never have commenced, and consequently could never have been. A single fact will be sufficient to explain what is here advanced in general terms; namely, the central fire of the terrestrial globe. If this state of fusion had place originally (from all eternity), it is impossible that the heat should have diminished so as to render the surface of the earth habitable for living beings, or that it may one day disappear entirely; for if we allow *a certain time*, no matter how long, for it to arrive at a complete cessation, or even to a slight diminution, this effect must necessarily have had place also from all eternity; that is to say, it never could have had place; and, nevertheless, it exists.” — Vol. III. pp. 281, 282.

So, likewise, in his theory of the origin and constitution of the heavenly bodies and of the solar system, he cannot dispense, to say the least, with Aristotle's Unmoved Mover, whence all motion arose. He begins what he has to say on this subject by conceding, that we are not to look to astronomy, any more than to mineralogy, physics, or chemistry, for a direct and independent proof of the existence of God; though it supplies the best and most striking illustrations of his omnipotence. No wonder that the sublime harmony of the heavens should have excited in all ages the imagination of men, or that they should have thought to find there the most convincing proof of the Divine existence; but, in strictness, it should be regarded merely as showing the Creator's illimitable power.

“So true is this, that all, *save the primitive impulse by which the stars were animated*, is simply the effect of laws which rule the properties inherent in brute matter, and more particularly of the law of universal gravitation, which, in the opinion of materialists, has belonged to matter from all eternity. Hence, according to them, what we justly admire in the sublime mechanism of the heavens is, in principle, nothing but the result of mathematical fatality; in other words, the whole universe exists as it is,

because it could not be otherwise. And, indeed, were we to limit ourselves, as they do, to these observations alone, there would be no valid objection to the ground here taken; but their theories, however learned, can never explain whence arose that *primitive impulse*, which animated not only the stars, but also all other beings in nature. To this question they are careful never to mount up, being unable to resolve it except by calling in a power foreign to nature, — a power which can be no other than that of the One Supreme Intelligence who commands the entire universe." — Vol. I. pp. 25, 26.

In the same strain the author proceeds to demonstrate that Laplace's celebrated theory to account for the origin of the solar system may be true, as far as it goes, without making "the hypothesis of a God," as Laplace himself somewhat irreverently terms it, any the less necessary.

"Indeed, the memoir of Laplace has succeeded very well in explaining mathematically the actual formation of our planetary system, starting, as he does, from the fact, that originally the whole existed as an immense atmosphere in chaos around the sun, a solid body in rapid motion. But how came the sun to be in existence at that time as a solid body, and not in chaotic diffusion like the rest? and what power was able to impress upon it the mighty movement with which it was then animated? Finally, why did not the chaos of the entire planetary system precipitate itself directly from every part upon the centre, to form with it a single mass? The learned astronomer has taken care not to raise these questions, being unable doubtless to resolve them by his mathematical demonstrations. Admitting, however, that all this was so, for some reason however inexplicable, it is also necessary further to admit, with the illustrious geometer, that, anteriorly to the epoch when the chaos was put in movement, the movement of the sun itself existed not, and could not have begun until then; for at the instant when it commenced, it must have been communicated to the diffused matter of the chaos which surrounded that star: an incontestable proof that this movement of the sun existed not itself from all eternity, and that it must have been given at the epoch of the formation of the planets. What power gave it? This question always returns, as soon as we elevate ourselves a little above the theory of facts purely physical, of which observation makes us directly cognizant; but this is what many scientific men never think of doing.

"Thus it is that certain astronomers, and among others the celebrated Lalande, have been able to be atheists, their researches

having been exclusively confined to the observation of the material facts of the celestial phenomena as the sole matter of calculation, without ever thinking of the inductions to be drawn from them, whether under the relation of the conditions of the existence of these facts, or under that of their primary causes. These men, though very skilful calculators, never elevate themselves to the philosophical questions of their science; shutting themselves up in the theory of facts, where all, indeed, is so rigorously precise that the boldest imagination is astounded, being unable to conceive how it is possible that stars, which take up millions of years perhaps in accomplishing their revolution, are yet never a single moment belated. If they were so, it would follow necessarily that their motion would be wholly arrested sooner or later, seeing that the least time thus lost could never be regained; nay, as this loss would renew itself from the same causes at each revolution, it would lessen each time the force and velocity impressed on the star in the beginning, and leave it at last stationary in space.

“From what has been said, it appears that facts considered as pertaining solely to the mathematical and physical sciences furnish no direct *proof of the existence* of a Supreme Intelligence who ordained these facts by creating the properties which produced them, and through them the entire universe; nevertheless, that existence once established by irrefragable demonstrations, these same facts afford proofs the most evident of the omnipotence, sublime wisdom, and omniscience of a Supreme Being, the sole First Cause of all that is.” — Vol. I. pp. 27–29.

The author proceeds to show, that these “irrefragable demonstrations” are found everywhere in the admirable structure of organized beings.

“Here matter, elevated to a higher degree of activity, no longer forms, as in minerals, simple masses, either homogeneous or heterogeneous as the case may be, of which each part represents the whole, and hence its name, *a specimen*; but instead of mere masses, we have wholes more or less complicated, composed of unlike parts or organs, each of which performs some special function contributing to the end these beings are called to fulfil; — wholes to which we give the name of *individuals*, as being indivisible, or as being incapable of being divided without the loss of some of their parts rendering them incomplete. In such cases, as in ordinary mechanics, the matter which constitutes the beings in question not only presents the natural characters which are specially proper to it as matter, but also, in every part, forms, dispositions, and actions which, having nothing to do with those properties, show with incontestable evidence that they are to be

referred to the intervention of an all-powerful creative Intelligence ; and this proof we find even in the minutest details of the structure of animalcules so small as to be invisible to the naked eye." — Vol. I. p. 29.

Other illustrations of this argument are given in the next chapter, entitled "Proofs of the Existence of God and his Attributes, drawn from General Considerations on the Organization of Living Beings"; from which we take the following.

"In what has just been said, I have only indicated the two great functions by which the bodies of living beings grow and are nourished ; but all must perceive that these functions themselves exact several conditions of existence without which they could not be exercised. Take, for example, the simplest form of their manifestation, as in plants, where the individual absorbs directly by its surface, and specially by certain parts of it, called the *absorbent organs* (the ends of the roots), those substances which are found dissolved in the fluids in contact with the above-mentioned organs. We see at once that this absorption cannot take place by means of a simple physical action, such as capillarity, which makes water to penetrate a sponge ; for, in that case, everything would be drawn in, and the circulatory vessels would be filled with liquids, much the largest portion of which would not help nutrition, but, on the contrary, operate as poison by obstructing more or less the action of the organs. Indeed, the substances introduced into the economy of the plant being simply mineral, (they must necessarily have been so to the first living beings created,) they would be of a nature completely different from those of which the organs are composed ; whence it follows, not only that the absorbent organs *must* have, as in fact they do, a faculty to absorb such only of the surrounding substances as can enter into the composition of the fluid in circulation in the plant, but also *to make choice* as regards the special qualities which the nutritive sap requires ; and this again makes it necessary that the form and composition, and consequently the faculties, of the absorbent organs should be different in each species, — a condition which supposes incontestably, that *these organs have been planned and formed under the influence of an intelligent Cause*, having *prescience* of the effects to be produced." — Vol. I. pp. 39, 40.

Having vindicated the soundness of this reasoning by showing that in the creation of organized beings effects take place, not as the necessary consequences of what went before, but as the necessary conditions of what is

to come after, thus demonstrating foresight, and therefore mind, — a plan, and a mind working according to it, — the author proceeds to apply the same, in successive chapters, to the four great departments in the animal kingdom, the Vertebrates, the Articulates, the Mollusks, and the Zoöphytes ; and afterwards to particular facts in the organism and faculties of animals in their relation to each other, and especially to those connected with reproduction. To follow him in these details would be wearisome and unprofitable. His method, as the reader will perceive, agrees substantially with that adopted by Dr. Roget, in the first volume of his Bridgewater Treatise, except that the order is reversed. Also, in the general treatment of the several topics, the two works resemble each other, with this distinction, however, that the French treatise keeps the theological purpose more constantly in view. We miss in both the vivacity of Paley, his felicitous manner of raising the question, and his easy, lucid, and idiomatic style ; but, as a compensation for these deficiencies, we have in the works of these naturalists a much higher authority for the facts adduced, and much better evidence, especially in the more recent French treatise, that there is nothing in the latest scientific discoveries to invalidate the argument.

There is also another advantage resulting from the form under which the argument is here presented. Design is not inferred, as in Paley, from the alleged existence of special contrivances for special uses, but from the alleged existence of order and plan pervading all nature. As Baden Powell has said: "The instances in which we can trace a *use* and a *purpose* in nature, striking as they are, after all constitute but a very small and subordinate portion of the vast scheme of universal order and harmony of design which pervades and connects the whole. Throughout the immensely greater part of nature we can trace *symmetry* and *arrangement*, but not the *end for which* the adjustment is made. But this is no way a less powerful proof of design and intelligence than the former. The most exact and recondite adaptation of means to accomplish an obvious end is *no more peculiarly* an evidence of design, than the universal arrangement according to determinate laws which pervades the depths of cosmical space, — where we are least

able to trace any end. Symmetry and beauty are *results of mind* of at least as high an order as mechanical efficiency. A mere numerical relation invariably preserved, but no farther connected with any imaginable purpose, or a systematic arrangement of useless parts or abortive organs on a regular plan, are just as forcible indications of intelligence, as any results of immediate practical utility." *

The existence of a living and personal God being put, as our author thinks, beyond question, he gives a single chapter to the refutation of the materialist theories of cosmogony, with special reference to the doctrine of spontaneous generation, — from which the following extract is taken.

"Lamarck, a very learned botanist and conchologist, but feeble in anatomy and physiology, thought that God did not directly create animals, but simply the laws which, in their action on brute matter, have had the effect to produce them in their present infinite variety. Although Lamarck was not really a materialist, he nevertheless thought, with them, that organized beings existed at first under extremely simple forms, where all relations among the organs would be useless; relations which have been slowly established as the effect of *necessity*; as if necessity, which is here merely a want without means and without force, could produce the least thing. This *savant* thought, also, that these animals, primitively very simple, have been still further transformed in process of time by perfecting themselves more and more; and hence the large number of species very elevated in the scale of beings, that we know to-day. The same naturalist cites in this connection as one instance the *goose*, which, according to him, has become the *swan*, merely by elongating its neck in order to see farther on the water. If Lamarck had understood comparative anatomy and physiology, he never would have advanced this absurdity; for, though the two birds resemble each other, he would have known that, among many other characters which distinguish them, there is this, — that while the *goose* has a neck of fourteen vertebræ, the *swan* has one of twenty-three. Whence it results that, in the transformation of the *goose* into the *swan*, supposing it to take place, the thousand intermediate varieties which would exist must offer us the nine additional vertebræ belonging to the latter bird, in all imaginable degrees of development from the first rudiment to entire perfection, — modifications of which not the smallest trace is found. Moreover, this

* Unity of Worlds, p. 135.

learned conchologist, but very feeble logician, attaches a false notion to the word *elongate*, which signifies here to *hold upright*, and not to *lengthen out*; for he ought to have known that animals in holding up their neck press the vertebræ one upon another, instead of separating them. By reasoning equally vicious, the same *savant* has endeavored to explain how the feet of a land-bird become webbed; namely, by this alone, that he takes to the water, as has happened in the case of *ducks*; as if any birds, such as *hens*, for instance, might go into the water so often that in the end their feet would become webbed. He also adds, that this effect takes place in consequence of these animals spreading out their toes in order to swim; as if a *hen*, with its feet formed as they are, would ever seek to swim: and besides, Lamarck has not comprehended that just the contrary should happen in the case supposed; that is to say, in the effort to separate the toes, the membrane which unites them in the *duck* would be torn, and his feet become those of the *hen*.

“ I cite these two examples, adduced by a writer otherwise of great merit, in order to show how erroneous opinions, resting on facts badly observed, are apt to lead to the gravest faults of logic. Moreover, if a single organ, either by exercise or simply with time, could become a different thing from what it is, and consequently change its function, we should be unable to see any reason why others, and indeed the whole organism, might not become changed by a succession of self-modifications to such an extent as no longer to preserve that admirable harmony in the conditions of their existence which, nevertheless, we find everywhere; especially when we consider that a single change in a single organ will carry trouble into a whole system of organs, as we see in the case of monsters. And further, as each organ, by its form and function, is in itself independent, any modification of one would not produce the least change in another, whatever it might be, except troublesome perturbation. Hence we are obliged to admit here, as everywhere else, that the relations of existence, of form, of disposition, and of function, which we find brought together in the constitution of the same animal, as they are so precise and so remarkable, *must necessarily have been established by the sole supreme volition of an all-powerful Creator*. In fine, even if it were true, as Lamarck thought, though far from being a materialist, that God did not create immediately all the different species of animals, but only the laws which in their action on brute matter have produced them, this opinion would only have the effect to carry a little farther back the solution of the question, without making it any the less true in principle, that *the Supreme Being has created each species in particular*. Nay, admitting only that God

has established the creative laws, these, as they thus become the determining causes of all that exists, must include necessarily the conditions in which each object is produced; whence it results that in the creation of these laws is found already implicitly the creation of the beings themselves, — in other terms, *an expression of the Divine will that they should be produced*, which is equivalent on the part of God, whose will is all-powerful, to the direct creation of the beings in question; for nobody has ever thought that God created them as the sculptor moulds and shapes a statue." — Vol. II. pp. 343 – 346.

The author of this work is neither a psychologist nor a metaphysician; and not much of a philosopher. Accordingly, we find here no answer to some of the most subtile objections which have been raised against the whole argument from final causes; and, indeed, no proper recognition of these objections as really existing, at least to some minds. What we have in this work is neither more nor less than nature, as seen through the eyes of a thoroughly instructed naturalist; and as such, it becomes especially worthy of notice. Without doubt, the best argument for the being of a God which the book contains, is found in the religious impression which the thorough and patient study of nature has left on a mind not predisposed in favor of religion by a belief in revelation, or sympathy in the popular worship. It is not true of him, as has been said of others, that he is religious in spite of science; science constrains him to be religious. May we not regard it as one among many indications that science is becoming more and more thoroughly religious both in its scope and spirit? Formerly, and not long ago, hardly enough was understood of the plan of creation in order to know that it *is* a plan; now, when the naturalist, especially if he is an original observer, traces the connection and succession of animal types through the geological ages, and on the globe as constituted at present, he soon feels that he is not investigating the accidents of matter. He sees that the whole is a vast scheme of things, fully considered and matured in the beginning, and invariably pursued; that, in describing what are called the laws of nature, he is but interpreting the thoughts of God; that what is Law to us, is Will to him.

J. W.

ART. VIII. — JOWETT ON EPISTLES OF ST. PAUL.*

OUR usual custom in copying the title-pages of the books which we review is to omit the academic and professional epithets connected with the names of their authors. For a good reason, we depart from that custom in allowing the words "Fellow and Tutor of Balliol College, Oxford," to follow the name "Benjamin Jowett" in the book-title given below. Those academic and professional titles are not among the least significant phenomena presented to us in connection with these very remarkable and most valuable volumes. We have found ourselves asking, What is the tenure of office, what are the implications of belief and the conditions of profession, exacted of one who holds a fellowship in an English university? We know that it is requisite that he should have signed the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England, should have taken holy orders in that communion, and be a celibate, — an unmarried man. The signature affixed to those Articles is understood by all who do not accord with Paley's ingenious and convenient construction of them, to imply a belief in the doctrines which they teach. But the "Fellow" whose admirable offering to the cause of sound biblical scholarship has afforded us equal delight and amazement, must have a method more ingenious than that of Paley's for reconciling two such different uses of his pen as were required for affixing his signature to the aforesaid Articles and for writing these volumes. That other persons who have a responsibility and a power in the case which do not belong to us have all of our amazement, in connection with some other feeling, is evident from the information brought to us in recent English papers, to the effect that Mr. Jowett has been challenged for the alleged heretical character of this work, and has met the charge by signing over again the same Articles.

Our readers may ask what there is in these volumes to cause us such an amazement. We answer, that it is

* *The Epistles of St. Paul to the Thessalonians, Galatians, Romans: with Critical Notes and Dissertations.* By BENJAMIN JOWETT, M. A., Fellow and Tutor of Balliol College, Oxford. London: John Murray. 1855. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 417, 505.

caused simply by comparing their title-page with their contents. Here are books the very life and substance of which involve the fundamental and all-essential points of Christian doctrine which are in controversy between Unitarians and Trinitarians, between Congregationalists and Episcopalians, between the most liberal and the most conservative parties in Christian theology, and yet there is not a Unitarian, or a Congregationalist, or a liberal in theology, who might not have written, and, saving one single qualification, who would not accept and gratefully acknowledge the truth of the chief contents of these books. We have made one qualification because of an element of "rationalism" in the volumes. If a Professor in the Theological School at Cambridge had produced this work, our brethren would have approved of its contents, excepting only against that element of rationalism.

Yet we do wrong to say that the facts of the case before us cause us amazement, or affect us as a surprise, an inexplicable phenomenon. We should rather say, that we ought to be surprised by them, and should be so, had not many anticipatory tokens assured us of the tendency of one of the most scholarly and earnest sections of the comprehensive church established by law in England. Thirty years ago a high religious interest associated with a vigorous mental reaction was working at Oxford, which engaged the excited attention of all classes. The development of its results in those who proved to be its strongest men was the basis of what is now known as Puseyism. It was thought by some at the time that the epithet of *New Mania*, given to the movement in the spirit of levity, was more befitting the zeal which has won so many converts of distinction to the Roman Church. But as Newman has actually gone over to that Church, while Pusey has remained in the English communion, the latter is the better entitled to stand as the responsible exponent of his party, and to give it its title. Oxford has at any rate vindicated itself from the charge of lethargy and academic sloth during the whole of the last half-century at least. When we remember that the after-dinner circle in one of its Common Rooms found Froude and Newman, and Pusey and Keble, and Arnold and Blanco White and Whately,

in brotherly converse, and consider what variety of intellectual and religious workings are represented or associated with their names, we must acknowledge that every strong impulse in the present conflict of opinions has found some exciting or directing energy in those quiet academic shades.

In the volumes now in our hands, a noble fidelity to the Christian scholar's vocation combines with the utmost freedom of speculation which is consistent with a believing spirit, to open to us some of the oldest themes under the attractions of the freshest mode of treatment. There is no looking back with longing to the romance of an ecclesiastical communion unriven in its unity, there is no millinery or upholstery formalism in this contribution of Oxford theology. Mr. Jowett bears us into the very thick of all those dreaded antagonisms between the present and the past in the warfare of the faith, which are visiting upon its believers and defenders in this generation the consequences of the unsettled strifes, the ill-fought conflicts, and the smothered but unreconciled and evaded issues that have been demanding a fair adjustment ever since Protestantism proved truculent in its own high cause. So far from yielding to any timidity of spirit by a desire to make his candor on some delicate points cover silence upon others on which he need not have spoken, our author shows us that he can raise some new perplexities, and open difficulties, not for the sake of removing them, but simply to leave them after making us aware of them.

The basis of the volumes is Lachmann's revision of the Received Greek Text of the four Epistles which are commented upon. Whether or not Mr. Jowett puts an undue estimate on the value of Lachmann's version is a question which we will not enter upon, though we ought to say, in passing, that all will not agree with him in his high regard for it, and that on some points there are grave objections to it.

To each of the Epistles we have a carefully-written Introduction, dealing with questions of their genuineness, their localities and dates, their subject-matter and method. The Greek text is accompanied by an English translation, which is in the main that of our Common Version, except where it is conformed to revisions

introduced into the original. A large body of notes is made to illustrate the Greek words and phrases, the ideas, imagery, and logical construction of the Epistles, and to open anew all those materials and deductions which support the doctrines accepted or controverted among Christians. If the reader will compare a few pages of these notes, where considerations of emphatic importance are presented, — and such are on nearly every page, — with parallelisms of the text as commented upon, for instance, in Chalmers on the Romans, he will gain an idea of the difference of sounds which two different hands may draw from the same instrument.

Connected at intervals through the volumes with the larger themes inviting extended discussion are masterly dissertations upon the following topics:—Evils in the Church of the Apostolical Age; The Belief in the Immediate Coming of Christ; Paley's *Horæ Paulinæ*; The Man of Sin; The Character of St. Paul; The Conversion of St. Paul; Relation of St. Paul to the Twelve; Quotations from the Old Testament in the New; St. Paul and Philo; Connection of Immorality and Idolatry; State of the Heathen World; Modes of Time and Place in Scripture; The Old Testament; The Imputation of the Sin of Adam; Conversion and Changes of Character; Contrasts of Prophecy; Casuistry; Natural Religion; The Law as the Strength of Sin; On Righteousness by Faith; The Doctrine of the Atonement; Predestination and Free-Will.

Now it would be a most ungracious task in us, as well as a most ungenerous treatment of a Christian scholar whose pages have given us a very high idea of his sincerity, his breadth of view, and his noble zeal for pure truth, to go through these dissertations to cull out their heresies, and in so doing to put the writer in the dilemma of inconsistency. And, indeed, if for the sake of any sectarian triumph we should set about that work, forgetting its ungraciousness under the goad of some of the provocations which might urge us upon it, we should hardly know how to array those heresies to the best advantage. They permeate the whole work, they make the very atmosphere of its life, the tissue of its substance. But they are not to be exhibited as a triumph over the

literalism and the dogmatism of the popular comments and creeds of Orthodoxy. The author knows very well how slender were the twigs which were originally woven into the elements of the popular faith, and also how stiff they have become and how strong is the network by which they bind and trammel the efforts of even the most independent thinker to reconstruct from the text of St. Paul the Christian conceptions of his own spirit. Mr. Jowett writes under the impulse of all the most living influences of our own age, and he keeps in view the changed aspect of the whole task expected from a Scriptural apologist or commentator. He recognizes the fact that the old method of writing upon the evidences of Christianity, in the spirit of an advocate, must yield to the exactions of a more thorough and sceptical and comprehensive criticism, which, by practising upon the true and false tests of profane history, has learned to apply more searching processes to the sacred records. The grand result of his own unflinching courage in meeting the highest exactions of modern scientific criticism, is immensely on the side of faith in historical Christianity. What he yields is little, and of lesser importance, compared with what he secures to us. He transfers some of the embarrassments which we meet with in the writings of St. Paul to the mind of the writer himself. He makes us realize that the Apostle was dealing with truths the compass of which he did not himself fully comprehend, to the depths of which he had not penetrated, and which he had not learned to digest and harmonize into what meets our idea of a system of Christian theology. The Gospel brought into the world new ideas, which were larger than the meanings of any words or phrases then in use for giving expression to them. Many of the views, conceptions, and doctrines which Christians think they have found in these Epistles, Mr. Jowett frankly assures us Christians have in fact brought to the study and interpretation of them. Judaism had furnished some truths, and Greek philosophy had furnished some terms of language, with the joint aid of which the free spiritual elements of the new faith had to provide a method and a channel for communicating themselves to the minds of men. The petty questions of verbal construction on which

some of the controversies of Christian sects have been made to turn, give place to a wholly different class of queries and perplexities, as opened in the notes and dissertations of our author.

It is but natural that we should find pleasure in the tokens constantly and conspicuously manifested of late years, that high and thorough and reverent Christian scholarship, in whatever communion it is pursued, turns to the vindication and illustration of those views of Scripture which have been characteristic of our own fellowship, and which have been made alike the grounds of our own assurance and the reasons for the opposition of other parties to us. In connection with this remark, and in view of an intimation already made by us of an element of "rationalism" in these volumes, we may refer to a criticism upon them which has doubtless attracted the attention of some of our readers. A very pointed and elaborate article in the *British Quarterly Review*, under the caption of "Neology of the Cloister," makes quite an alarming remonstrance against the spirit and method, and some of the conclusions, of this work. We must candidly affirm, that we do not discover in this work any really undeniable evidence of the spirit which the reviewer alleges runs through it. That its spirit is Hegelian we positively deny. It is an affront of a most uncalled for and undeserved nature towards the author to attempt to force him into a category with Auguste Comte, Miss Martineau, and Mr. Atkinson, three of the most intolerable theorists in matters too august for their poor conceit which any half-century ever produced. There are also grave misrepresentations and carping hypercriticisms of Mr. Jowett by his critic. For instance, the reviewer indulges in a satirical remark upon an incidental qualification made by Mr. Jowett on the perfect validity and pertinency of Paley's method in the *Horæ Paulinæ*. Mr. Jowett says: "The very clearness of Paley's style has given him a fallacious advantage with the reader." The reviewer ridicules this assertion that fallacies may be conveyed in the simple perspicuity as well as in the intricate obscurity of a skilled writer. But on the next page Mr. Jowett explains his meaning more fully, thus, speaking of some particular specimens of Paley's reasoning: "All are indebted for a part of their force to the perspicuity

of the writer, which flatters the reader into intelligence, and makes him ready to admit what he can so easily understand." As fair a statement as criticism ever made. Again, in his bold and vigorous delineation of the character of St. Paul, an essay which has many striking touches of originality, Mr. Jowett reminds us how some men of signal mark have been indebted to their power of presence, their manliness of form, their erectness and majesty of bearing, and how others, even if weak and deformed in body, have expressed in look a calm and heavenly beauty, on whose faces men have gazed "as upon the face of an angel." In contrast, the author says of Paul that he owed nothing to these gifts: "A poor, decrepit being, afflicted, perhaps, with palsy, certainly with some bodily defect." The reviewer is terribly shocked with this intimation of a palsy, — as much so as some Protestant readers have been by the hypothesis of a Roman Catholic commentator, who, thinking to find hereby an argument for the celibacy of the clergy, suggested that the Apostle's "thorn in the flesh," or "messenger of Satan," was a *wife* after the pattern of the great Greek philosopher's. And once more, the reviewer perverts a not unreasonable implication of Mr. Jowett's, conveyed in one clause of the following sentence: "Nor can we pretend to estimate whether, in the modern sense of the term, St. Paul was capable of weighing evidence, or how far he would have attempted to sever between the workings of his own mind and the spirit which was imparted to him." Surely a reader of St. Paul can hardly have confronted the phenomena presented by his occasional bewilderment among the labyrinths of Rabbinical allegorizing and the speculations and visions in which he knew not whether he was in the body or out of the body, without finding a harmless, as well as a justifiable, application of Mr. Jowett's words.

The element of rationalism of which we have taken note is slight, and is observable chiefly in Mr. Jowett's evident persuasion that the *inward* process was by far the more effectual agency in St. Paul's conversation than any outward manifestation. Whatever there may be of a rationalizing tone or spirit in the volumes is, however, reached and yielded to and manifested by the writer in a way quite in contrast with any destructive or

incredulous impulse. His reason discerns inspiration and miracle and divine interposition in matters of such pre-eminent and cogent evidence, that he might safely doubt the most on the very points on which others think they must weigh the pressure of their faith.

The full allowance made by Mr. Jowett, that the Apostles erroneously but firmly and fully expected the consummation of all things in their own age, and that they viewed the relations of the heathen to God under a blinding fancy which we cannot approve, is so completely warranted by the evidence which he displays, that it is impossible to cavil with him on either of these points. His dissertation on Casuistry, keen and vigorous and outspoken as are its large readings of this practical world, will doubtless be challenged as giving a questionable tolerance to a lax spirit of worldly conformity. In discussing such *questiones vexatæ* as present themselves in the essays on The Imputation of the Sin of Adam, The Law as the Strength of Sin, Righteousness (or Justification) by Faith, Predestination and Free-Will, Mr. Jowett makes clean work of the mystifications and tortuosities which Calvinistic theology has complicated with the simple Scriptural elements of some of the problems of our thought. His views on the nature of the change wrought by conversion, and on the mode in which the Old Testament is quoted in the New, are identical with those which have been over and over maintained in the pages of this journal. The essay on the Doctrine of the Atonement is on the whole a development of Unitarian views by a process which recognizes the elements of the vicarious scheme only to show alike their utter inconsistency with Gospel doctrine, and the manner in which they came into the minds of early Christians rather through words and images of a familiar character than through any divine warrant. Mr. Jowett, indeed, goes farther than we can accord with him in what has been regarded as the doctrinal direction of Unitarianism. Many Unitarians—we know not but what a majority of those around us—would not so completely subordinate all the efficacy of the death of Christ to merely a moral significance as does Mr. Jowett.

We are led to ask, in conclusion, How soon will these

expected results of scholarly study and of honest speculation, in an unexpected quarter, be brought down to the apprehension and use of a range of minds below that of the author? How soon will they mingle with a more popular belief, and rectify it, and relieve the wonder and doubt with which we now have to ask, not only of the *truth* of opinions, but also of the *honesty* of those who hold them.

G. E. E.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

1. *The Newcomes. Memoirs of a Most Respectable Family.* Edited by ARTHUR PENDENNIS, ESQ. By W. M. THACKERAY. Leipzig. 4 vols. 18mo. pp. 1325.
2. *North British Review* for November, 1855. "Fielding and Thackeray."
3. *North American Review* for January, 1856. Critical Notices, No. 13: "The Newcomes."
4. *London Quarterly Review* for October, 1855. "The Newcomes."

THE following remarks upon Mr. Thackeray's writings would have been more opportune in our last number, for which they were prepared and put in type, though necessarily excluded by press of matter.

The merits of Mr. Thackeray as a thinker, writer, and storyteller have come to be discussed in various quarters with something of the temper of partisanship. The spirit, the skill, the interest, and the tendency of his books have all been very differently accounted of; and it is not often that the conflicting opinions about any author, whose only object is to amuse his readers, have been mixed with so much heat and acrimony. "The Christian Examiner" has already expressed its views on this subject. But as they have been somewhat tartly called in question, and as this whole matter touches in some degree on our religious province, there are a few more words that we wish to say.

And we may as well begin by avowing, that we think it questionable whether the popular "novelist" can be called a novelist at all, in the pure, artistic meaning of that term. We do not

see any quality in the quantity he has written, that proves the ability of composing a thorough novel, properly so called. That class of works requires a power of imagination and combination, which he nowhere shows that he possesses. It has methods and laws of its own. It must have a carefully arranged opening, development, and winding up, as much as the drama. It must be a whole, with complicated and interlacing parts. There must be unity with ever-shifting changes; a regular progress through the midst of doubts and surprises; various clews running tortuously to meet in the same point of common effect; some ingenuity of contrivance to keep the mind of the reader suspended and engaged, and swept forward, while it is swayed to and fro, by curiosity and emotion, and a constantly heightening sympathy. Think how Goldsmith has managed to fulfil all these conditions in so short and simple a story as "The Vicar of Wakefield," with its chaste language, its genial wit, its benign philosophy, its natural course of smiles and distresses; — and then tell us which one of the conditions is approached, in all the heavy batches of oddities from "The Yellowplush Papers" to "The Newcomes." What have we but a huddle of characters, without grouping, or proportion, or any abiding interest? In that last work, beside the personal bearings — which Mr. Thackeray seems never to forget — of the introductory apologue, and the tedious delays in getting at his story, there is such an entire absence of any stirring plot, that even the North British Reviewer is compelled to complain, that it not only leaves us almost in doubt whether the hero and heroine were married at all, "but also with an unpleasant impression that it is not much matter whether they are or not." And truly, that must remain a question of supreme indifference to the most curious and sensitive readers. A series of events, set in single file upon a highway, with nothing to look at on either side of the road, can hardly be called a novel. Bundles of memoirs, and snatches at history, — like much of what Mr. Galt has done so well in his way, — are scarcely novels. And no more are etchings of character, and slashes at aristocratic society, and descriptions of life and manners, whether actual or impossible, fairly entitled to that appellation. Mr. Thackeray is nothing so much as a sketcher in narrative, conversation, and portrait; excellent, perhaps, in his kind, but nevertheless we see everywhere the draughtsman, and little else than the draughtsman.

Having no disposition, however, to cavil about a mere word, we should not have said so much on this point but for the sake of showing how deficient we think him to be in a leading particular, when brought into comparison with the masters of prose fiction in every language and time, from the old Greek bishop

Heliodorus, who really had a good deal of ingenuity in him, down to our own day. Even as a story-teller we cannot assign to him a very distinguished eminence. He can talk dialogues. He can portray figures in crayon and chalk. He can relate incidents in simple succession, and even these rather as if they were cut in wood than painted in the colors of high art. But there his invention ends.

The measured words of our contributor seemed seasonable, now that the applauses of assemblies and the puffs of the journals are so strong in Mr. Thackeray's sails, and readers and audiences are caught with a celebrity which may prove unwholesome, and our young men and maidens are mistaking his caricatures for realities, and his cynicism for penetration, and imagine themselves becoming wise when they are only learning the shallowest depreciations of the world and man. The censure might have gone deeper, without being ill-natured or unjust. For the public morality has grave charges against an author who has so gained the eyes and ears of great multitudes of people, if, while he aims at nothing higher than the entertainment of idle hours, he can so deal with some of the most delicate sensibilities of the mind as to run the constant risk of affronting or perverting them.

Some persons appear to think that, because, in his last book especially, he has introduced some worthy and excellent persons,—amiable without being flats, and bright-witted without being sharps,—men and women, and not libels upon such,—he has quite retrieved himself, and now stands erect before all accusers. This is to mistake altogether the point at issue. The complaint is not chiefly that he has preferred to describe the coarse and base, the imbecile and wicked, and this in terms too low for polite use and too fast for the dictionaries. He is welcome to describe nothing else and nothing otherwise, if his taste finds that to be its vocation. It is not that, in painting his single characters, he distorts and exaggerates. It is that, when he writes in his own person, he has indulged in a sceptical spirit; and his tone has run vulgarly; and he has held up to the jeers of the superficial our weak, spotted, perverse, but inexpressibly deep human nature; and *woman* nature especially, which is its redeeming half. He should be held responsible for this, for it is not a stain upon the surface of his books, but a vice in their grain. And all this contemptuous satire does not carry with it the least appearance of any purpose or wish to make things better,—it is not the way to make them better,—but only for the sake of its grim jests or injurious irony. We must add, that his drolleries are not apt to provoke any hearty mirth, and his serious strokes rather make us feel disagreeably, than

touch the springs of sweet and noble tears. Now, has he retracted or qualified anything that has been most gravely found fault with? Absolutely not in the least. He had said in "Vanity Fair": "When you think that the eyes of your childhood dried at the sight of a piece of gingerbread, and that a plumcake was a compensation for the agony of parting with your mamma and sisters, O my friend and brother! you need not be too confident of your own fine feelings." Admirable logic! Profound psychology! Because the grieved child is pacified with sugar-plums, we must not think that any of our "fine feelings" are much above the low-water mark of the shallow and the selfish! And of women he had said: "They are born timid and tyrants, and maletreat those who are humblest before them." "Tender slaves that they are, they must needs be hypocrites and weak." The spirit of "Vanity Fair" lives on in "The Newcomes." Take a single quotation from the fifth chapter of the third volume: "Women go through this simpering and smiling life, and bear it quite easily. Theirs is a life of hypocrisy. Flattery is their nature; to coax, flatter, and sweetly befool some one, is *every* woman's business. *She is none*, if she declines this office." Verily the sex must be somewhat insensible, or extremely forgiving, if they can complacently endure such a persevering series of compliments.

The writer in the "North British," bold in his Calvinistic views of mankind, sets out a flaming eulogy of Mr. Thackeray, with a "protest against the *ignorance* or *hypocrisy* which is at the base of the main complaint brought against him." The very qualities, he says, which, in his recent writings, "scandalize large classes, confer upon his books an inexpressible attraction and value for those who really believe in original sin and human *imperfectibility*." If we understand that last word, which we never saw before, and which seems strangely misplaced here, it would be difficult to find any "large classes," if any person whatever, who do *not* "really believe" as the reviewer does on that special point. At the same time, we cannot help remembering that the old correlative of original sin used to be total depravity. We have no disposition, however, to catechise him on the soundness of his faith, though we must declare, for ourselves, that, if a man should believe that he can be perfect, it would be much nearer to the truth, and much better for him, than to believe in a ruined nature and its consequent sentence of doom. The reviewer is disposed to charge the novelist "with the opposite error" of making his characters too good; for if he should represent them as bad as the average of the world really is, "he would be absolutely unreadable." We will not contest that last amiable opinion. We will only say, that it is quite

edifying thus to see the fruits of Orthodoxy dangling on the same bough with the crabbed deformities of the satirist of his kind. The sourness of religious dogma, and the waggeries of a somewhat profane wit, are brought together into a very singular agreement. It is not worth while to bandy cross words with the reviewer, but, without saying anything of "hypocrisy," it is tolerably clear that he is entirely unaware either of the main drift or the force of the objection which he supposes can so easily be preached out of the way.

Another of our contemporaries nearer home has just felt authorized to say that, since "The Newcomes," Mr. Thackeray has entirely won "the vantage-ground over Dickens; for there can be no difference of opinion as to his superiority in the command of language and in artificial resources and skill." No difference of opinion! But "*de gustibus non opus est fustibus*"; the case is not to be decided by wager of battle. And yet, since we have met with scarcely any one of this way of thinking, we cannot but conclude that the assertion is far too sweeping. Many, not wholly unskilled in letters, are of opinion that the distance is immeasurable between those two writers in every respect,—in narrative skill and the whole magic mastery of speech, as well as in their spirit, feeling, purpose, and humanity. We do not like the style of "The Newcomes" much better than we like its contents. It is diffuse and wearisome, abounding with scraps of all sorts of plundered prose and verse. It is a mish-mash of all languages, and of no language that is in use among gentlemen. It is positively deformed with the easy pedantry of classical quotation, hackneyed phrases in French and Italian, and cant words of which we are unwilling to write down the true title. The extravagant encomium in the last "London Quarterly" calls them "colloquial vulgarisms"; owning that they occur very often, and that, if they were not so well managed, they would "debase his style." It confesses, also, that such language "has hitherto revolted every person of cultivated mind," and it "fears the evil effect of such an example."

But we will say no more about style or skill. It is not with these that we are chiefly concerned. Our quarrel is not with such things. We believe Mr. Thackeray's books to be misleading and debasing in their general tendency. The world is prone enough to sinking, hasty enough to be disdainful, tempted easily enough to be vulgar in sentiment and speech, without the aid of a fashionable novelist to further it in these directions. We cannot but regard the extraordinary favor he has met with as one of the ill-omened literary phenomena of our times.

Since Dickens and Thackeray are often named together, though no two authors ever stood farther apart, we cannot

resist the temptation to record our impression of some of the leading contrasts between them. Mr. Dickens always keeps himself distinct from his characters, having his own way of speaking for himself, and endowing them with the peculiar forms of expression which belong to each. Mr. Thackeray runs by the side of his men and women with his caustic remarks and his by-play. The former has a great literary plan, which he wishes to construct or evolve. The other has some pictures on hand which he is willing to show to the spectators. One, genial and glowing from a thousand vivid experiences, is perpetually surprising us with some delicate touch of common feeling, which opens the covered recesses of the past, and thrills the very soul. The other, with slow sympathies, but intent on the business before him,—like a hitter engaged at a bout with single-stick, or like a gazer after something ridiculous from his club-house windows,—almost hides from us that there is such a thing as soul in man. One, full of natural affections, the tenderest, widest, and most various, seeks in the wretched aspects of our race and world something to pity rather than to scorn. Believing, with Shakespeare's Fifth Harry, that

"There is some soul of goodness in things evil,
Would men observingly distil it out,"

he addresses himself with an earnest heart to that wise and benevolent chemistry. The other picks open the fairest show of things to discover the ugliness within; and, professing to be an analyzer, would fain demonstrate some lurking elements of bitterness and pollution in the brightest waters. One, picturesque and impassioned, carries us away as much with his many-sided suggestions as with his affecting story, so that we pause every little while for fear of losing something, and often cannot read aloud without a tightening of the throat, or read in silence without a throbbing breast and a moistened eye. The other, coldly sarcastic or dismally jovial, has no more poetry, no more elevation or beauty in what accompanies his pieces, than there is in the subjects of them. One has an eye for all that is lovely and grand in nature, for all that is common and uncommon in the most familiar objects, and for all those subtle connections which they mysteriously hold with the thoughts and affections and lives of men. The other looks but at the downright thing before him, and a very mean and artificial thing it usually is. His stage has no scenery. One has enriched our literature with whole galleries of photographs that almost live upon the walls; sun-shadows of such tender beauty as little Paul and little Nell. But who cares to remember the figures which the other has dashed off by gas-light and in tobacco-smoke? Who could find any use in remembering them?

As if the public could never have enough of his "Most Respectable Family," Mr. Thackeray says at the close: "J. J.'s history, let me confidentially state, has been revealed to me also, and may be told some of these fine summer months, or Christmas evenings, when the kind reader has leisure to hear." The reader ought to have a great deal of leisure.

Poems. By CHARLES KINGSLEY, Author of "Amyas Leigh," "Hypatia," etc. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1856. 16mo. pp. 284.

THE distinguished reputation which Mr. Kingsley has already obtained entitles any new work from his pen to a careful consideration. But even if these poems had been published anonymously, they would scarcely fail to attract notice for their vigor of thought and earnestness of purpose. They have not, indeed, the highest characteristics of poetry. Mr. Kingsley's imagination is not, strictly speaking, a poetical imagination, and hence he frequently fails to sustain the level of his subject, and to give adequate poetical expression to his thoughts. Nor are his rhythms always harmonious. Yet there are many passages of rare beauty and power scattered through the volume; and it is easy to recognize in them the marks of true genius.

The longest piece in the collection is an historical drama entitled *The Saint's Tragedy*, and is drawn from the story of Saint Elizabeth of Hungary. It is introduced by an apologetic Preface by the Rev. F. D. Maurice, in which that able and ingenious writer considers at length the objections that might be urged against the propriety of a clergyman's attempting the composition of a dramatic work in strict accordance with the rules of art. Referring to the license readily granted to a clergyman to express his thoughts in other forms, he says: "The privilege of expressing his own thoughts, sufferings, sympathies, in any form of verse, is easily conceded to him; if he liked to use a dialogue instead of a monologue, for the purpose of enforcing a duty, or illustrating a doctrine, no one would find fault with him; if he produced an actual drama for the purpose of defending or denouncing a particular character, or period, or system of opinions, the compliments of one party might console him for the abuse or contempt of another. But it seems to be supposed that he is bound to keep in view one or other of these ends; while to divest himself of his own individuality that he may enter into the working of other spirits,—to lay aside the authority which pronounces one opinion, or one

habit of mind, to be right, and another wrong, that he may exhibit them in their actual strife, — to deal with questions, not in an abstract shape, but mixed up with affections, passions, relations of human creatures, — is a course which must lead him, it is thought, into a great forgetfulness of his office, and of all that is involved in it." For ourselves we do not feel the weight of this objection. We can perceive no objection on this ground to the form of Mr. Kingsley's work which would not equally foreclose the splendid career that apparently awaits him as a writer of prose fiction. But we have quoted the passage as indicating the restraint imposed by a false theory upon such strong and clear thinkers as Maurice and Kingsley.

The work thus introduced and defended is a production of very great merit. As a picture of certain phases of life in the Middle Ages, and as a sketch of the personal history and character of the heroine, we believe its entire accuracy must be admitted. And in its whole structure we have abundant evidence of Mr. Kingsley's ripe culture and varied learning, and of that singular earnestness of purpose and that enthusiastic love of his subject which have colored all his previous works. The subject has evidently been studied with conscientious fidelity, and under the various aspects which it must necessarily present to a thoughtful and candid student of history. The incidents have been selected and arranged with excellent judgment; and the few departures from the actual chronology heighten the artistic effect of the story without impairing its value as an historical study. The characters are conceived with a clear insight of the conflicting elements of human nature, and are drawn with great firmness of touch. The characters of Elizabeth, of Lewis, and of Count Walter, in particular, are striking illustrations of our author's dramatic power. The character of Conrad is not an attractive one, but it is drawn with the same discriminating skill and fidelity to nature which we notice in the more pleasing characters just mentioned. The diction is in general clear and dignified, and the songs with which the drama is interspersed are superior, we think, to the minor poems printed at the end of the volume.

Many of these miscellaneous poems and ballads, however, are spirited productions. They breathe the same fiery energy which marks the stirring lyrics of Whittier, and many of them must be familiar to all of our readers. But they fail to impress us with the same sense of power as Mr. Kingsley's prose works. They are less natural in expression, and many of them exhibit a want of artistic finish. The most striking are those which refer directly to the political and social questions of the last ten or fifteen years. It is to his interest in these subjects that we owe the best of our author's productions, both in prose and in verse.

Sinai and Palestine, in Connection with their History. By ARTHUR PENRHYN STANLEY, M. A., Canon of Canterbury. With Maps and Plates. London: John Murray. 1856. 8vo. pp. 591.

ANYTHING which comes from Arthur Stanley is sure to be good. He has been proved in biography, in history, in biblical criticism, and now we meet him as a gleaner in the well-reaped field of Palestine tradition. And he is a most successful gleaner. Excellent as are his other books,—his *Lives of Dr. Arnold* and of *Bishop Stanley*, his *Memorials of Canterbury*, and his *Commentary on the Corinthian Epistles*,—this book on *Sinai and Palestine* is the best. Its plan, its execution, and its spirit are alike admirable. Its investigations are as acute and accurate as they are broad and impartial. The purpose of the volume, as stated in the Preface, and most rigidly adhered to throughout, is to show how the geography of the Holy Land illustrates the histories of the Bible, Christian and Jewish. The narrative of Mr. Stanley's own travels in the East, though it goes on with the progress of the inquiry, is always subordinate,—is only a graceful aid to the more important treatise. All needless personal details are left aside, and we are saved from those delectable pictures of imposition, torment, and disaster, alternating with marvellous experiences and providential deliverances, which enter so largely into the stories of Eastern tourists.

Mr. Stanley does not claim to be original in his views, or to owe much to his own conjectures. He has preferred more wisely to use the observations of travellers whose candor and truthfulness have been fully established. His facts are those of Robinson, Burckhardt, Lynch, Thompson, and others, who have written at length and scientifically on the subject which he treats. But he has arranged, classified, and reasoned, from these facts, in such a way that his work may be fairly called original. And his own observation and scrutiny have carefully verified the facts which he uses. He takes nothing of importance on trust, and tells of very little which he has not seen or studied out. In this respect his volume is a model of praiseworthy self-denial.

We can only briefly state the plan of the volume, which will deserve an extended review. After the striking Preface, which gives the key not merely to the purpose, but to the critical and ethical judgments of the work, we have an Introduction of some thirty pages, of which the "relation of Egypt to Israel" is the theme. Then comes an elaborate chapter on the Peninsula of Sinai, as picturesque in its descriptions as it is close in its argument. Eleven chapters follow, on Palestine, Judæa and Jerusalem, The Heights and Passes of Benjamin, Ephraim, The Mari-

time Plain, The Jordan and the Dead Sea, Perea and the Trans-Jordanic Tribes, Plain of Esdraelon, Galilee, Lake of Merom and Sources of the Jordan, Lebanon and Damascus; with two supplementary chapters, one on the Gospel History and Teaching viewed in Connection with the Localities of Palestine, and the other on "The Holy Places." An Appendix contains a most complete, useful, and carefully prepared Vocabulary and Concordance of Hebrew Topographical Words. The Maps, of which there are seven, are ingeniously colored to represent the real hue of the regions marked upon them. The notes and references are all that could be desired, leaving nothing unexplained which needs explanation. The typographical execution is in the best style of John Murray.

On almost every page there is some striking remark to be noted and remembered. And where so many beautiful passages might be quoted, it is hardly fair to cite any mistakes of the small number which can be detected. But lest we should seem to err by over-praising, we will mention the most important mistakes that we have noticed. On page 14, Mr. Stanley says that the sound of "the church-going bell" is unknown in the East. This is true in Egypt and in Judæa, but not in Northern Syria. Every morning the air of the Lebanon is flooded with the music of innumerable bells, calling the people to prayer. On page 68, he speaks of the *sand-storm* as "peculiar" to the Red Sea Desert. It is, on the contrary, experienced at Jerusalem and Palmyra, and very often on the Mediterranean Desert. On page 149, he speaks of the caves of Palestine as "not stalactitic." This may be true of the smaller caves, but is not so of the larger. His configuration of Jerusalem, on page 58, is singularly incorrect. We are at a loss to understand how such a strange distortion came to be given to its shape. On page 171, he calls deep ravines like those around Jerusalem a "rare feature in the scenery of the Holy Land," a remark with which we can by no means agree. On page 184, he omits the pomegranate from the trees which grow in the neighborhood of Jerusalem. On page 253, he speaks of the "cooings" of the "Sacred Doves" as still heard in the ruins of Ascalon. He was more fortunate in hearing them than most travellers have been. On page 277, "3,000" should be 3,700, and on the map of the frontispiece, "652" should be 352. A few such trifling errors as these are the only defects in a book as nearly perfect in its kind as any that we have ever seen. We trust that the enterprise of some American publisher will bring it within the reach of American readers.

The Prince of the House of David, or Three Years in the Holy City. Being a Series of Letters of Adina, a Jewess of Alexandria, sojourning in Jerusalem in the Days of Herod, addressed to her Father, a wealthy Jew in Egypt, and relating, as by an Eyewitness, all the Scenes and Wonderful Incidents in the Life of Jesus of Nazareth, from his Baptism in Jordan to his Crucifixion on Calvary. Edited by the REV. PROFESSOR J. H. INGRAHAM, Rector of St. John's Church, Mobile. Sixth Thousand. Revised and corrected by the Author. New York : Dana & Co. 1856. 12mo. pp. 454.

IN the Middle Age, the profligate aristocracy of Europe were wont to wipe out their vices and crimes by joining the Church, and manifesting in her service an exemplary zeal. The author of the volume before us has heretofore been notorious as a novelist of the "feeble-forcible" school, an American imitator of Mr. Harrison Ainsworth, a writer of flashy and piratical romances. He seems now to have taken to religion, and to have turned his peculiar gifts to a pious use. And the first fruit thereof is indeed most precious and edifying! Bad as all his books have been, he has produced nothing so thoroughly detestable as this religious novel. Words are not adequate to describe such a tissue of ignorance, falsehood, folly, and profanity. Irreverence and recklessness were never more wickedly employed than in compiling these letters of a Jewish maiden, — letters which have not one mark of verisimilitude, and which no such person could ever have written. We are reluctant to stain our pages by any notice of such a production. But we are afraid that its elegant exterior, its taking title, and the showy advertisements which have announced it, may deceive many into buying it, and that it may get into our Sunday-school libraries, unless a timely warning is given. We state, then, that this "Prince of the House of David" is nothing more nor less than a monstrous perversion of the life of the Saviour, of its scenes, its facts, and its spirit. It is false to the Scripture record, to the spirit of the time, and to the geography of the country. It is a daring mutilation, alteration, and enlargement of the New Testament account, worse even than the Apocryphal Gospels. The machinery of romance — *love* and *fighting* — is most liberally brought in to help out the tameness of the Evangelical narratives. John the Evangelist is *engaged* to one of the Marys, and Mary the sister of Lazarus is kidnapped and seduced by one of Pilate's officers. We have an account of the combat between Barabbas, a Bedouin Sheikh, and the Roman Centurion, a lover of Miss Adina, whose charms evidently help on his conversion. Lazarus, too, has a love affair, and also "Samuel," the son of "the widow of Nain."

The deaths and resurrections of these parties are elaborately described. "Samuel" dies of the plague, Lazarus of "hemorrhage of the lungs," brought on by overwork in copying for the priests of the temple. Mary's laudable occupation is in embroidering foot-cushions for Pilate's young wife.

We have not only the names and lineage of the New Testament characters told to us, but also minute descriptions of the personal appearance of most of them, — their hair, eyes, features, beards, dress, stature, condition in the world, and the like, — descriptions which are often inconsistent in different parts of the book. At one time Peter is "short," at another he is "tall." Judas here is well proportioned, and there is "fleshy." Jesus has at one time *dark*, at another time *brown*, and at another time *auburn*, hair. The accounts of the various miracles are transposed and embellished in the most extraordinary manner; place, time, and circumstance are alike disregarded. Even the old "miracle plays" of Germany made no more ludicrous misuse of the narrative than this American priest and romancer. Words are put into the mouth of Jesus, and into the mouth of John the Baptist, which are wholly unlike anything that they ever uttered. There is not a single character drawn as the Scripture draws it. Pilate and Judas Iscariot and Barabbas are more in Mr. Ingraham's line than saints or holy women, but he does the first as badly as the last. In spite of the sanctimonious dedication, the book can be regarded as no better than a weak burlesque of the Christian story, shocking to the sensibilities of every devout reader. Even in the most trifling matters, vulgar associations are forced in. For instance, at the trial of Christ before Caiaphas, the cock crows on the wrist of one of the witnesses, and has "steel gaffs on his spurs," just as he has come from a Jerusalem cockpit. The "three Magi," whose names are all given, are represented as descendents of the sons of Noah, one from Shem, another from Ham, and the third from Japhet; and they together indicate the subjection of the whole world to Jesus.

Apart from this deliberate perversion of the Scripture history, examples of which occur on almost every one of the 450 pages, the *blunders* of the book are amazing. Think of a letter-writer of the time of Jesus talking about the "Bazaar" and the "Jaffa gate," — saying that "the Desert" comes "within two miles" of Jerusalem; that the Dead Sea and the "silver thread of the Jordan" were "seen for hours," in journeying from *Gaza to Jerusalem*; that Bethlehem is seen from the Mount of Olives, and that the hill of the Temple is seen from Bethany, — that, in going from Jerusalem to Nazareth, you go over Mount Tabor and by the Sea of Galilee, — telling of the magnificent brilliancy of the morning sun on the arch over the door of the Holy of Holies,

— mentioning that Jericho is a “mile and a half” from the Jordan; — but why need we catalogue more of such stuff? We can only say, that while we hold all romances of biblical history, however well executed and faithful to the spirit of the time and the statements of the record, to be of doubtful benefit, we hold such books as this to be in the last degree pernicious, — far worse than any new translation or any rationalistic criticism of the Scriptures can possibly be. It is a book of which any Christian Church should be ashamed; which any Christian Church ought to repudiate.

Aspen Court. A Story of our Own Time. By SHIRLEY BROOKS.
New York: Stringer and Townsend. 1856. 12mo. pp.
504.

A WEIGHTY note prefixed to this volume by the American publishers informs the public of Mr. Henry William Herbert's opinion, that it is the *best* English novel of society, high and low, that he ever read. He adds that, “it has all the wit and knowledge of low life of Dickens, without his caricature or favoritism of classes. It has all Thackeray's acquaintance with the foibles of high life, without his sordid degradation of humanity.” Who Shirley Brooks is neither the publisher nor Mr. Herbert give us any hint. We doubt if the popular verdict will sustain Mr. Herbert's opinion. The book may be better described as a poor imitation of the mannerisms both of Thackeray and Dickens, without the peculiar power of either of those writers; in fact, without original power of any kind. Its satire is feeble, its descriptions are tedious, and its “wit” is nothing but slang. It aims evidently to do what Bulwer has done in his more recent novels, but in its representation of “the varieties of English life,” it compares with those novels as “Moredun” compares with the genuine romances of Scott. It can be characterized only as an ambitious failure, containing no character thoroughly drawn, no scene graphically delineated, — and showing skill only in the complication, but not in the development, of its plot. Yet there is sufficient variety of costume, profession, and adventure, and sufficient sprightliness of style, to make it interesting, in spite of the essential defect of force and consistency in its characters. It is not a dull, though it is a most unsatisfactory and unreliable book. The change of figures is pleasant to look at, though, after all, it is only a kaleidoscope show, and one goes on from chapter to chapter, with a sort of hope that something fine is coming, by and by. But the fine thing never comes.

And any single chapter of "Vanity Fair," or the "Pickwick Club," or "My Novel," has in it more of real wit and wisdom and power than the whole of these five hundred pages. It will need all the perseverance of puffing to achieve for the volume the "success" which Mr. Herbert predicts.

Dreams and Realities in the Life of a Pastor and Teacher. By the Author of "Rolling Ridge," "The Parish Side," etc. New York, Boston, and Cincinnati. 1856. 12mo. pp. 439.

Ohe jam satis! The public have had quite enough of the experiences and trials and calamities of pastors and pastors' wives. The interest of that species of literature is exhausted. The demonstrations of clerical morbid anatomy never were very instructive or very dignified, and have now become exceedingly tedious. We shrink from the duty of examining a book when its title hints that we are to be treated to a new feast of pastoral miseries and misfortunes. The volume before us has not in that direction realized our fears, but is quite as objectionable in another direction. It is rather of the gossiping than the whining class, and, like Miranda, prattles "something too wildly." The slight eccentricity of form does not enliven much the prevailing heaviness of the story, nor do the personal allusions succeed in provoking curiosity to identify the characters in the book with real men and women.

The substance of these "Dreams and Realities," may be stated as follows: The Rev. Ubert Castlereagh, in a fit of inspired benevolence, thinks that he is not doing enough in his small country parish, and resolves to open a school, and be an educator as well as a pastor. The result is the "Lindenvale Institute." This establishment seems to have been somewhere in Connecticut. Thirty-four chapters describe its fortunes, the boys and girls, the teachers, male and female, the studies, the exhibitions, the excursions, the vacations, and the catastrophes incident to such an establishment. Pastoral life is a side issue, and furnishes a few episodes of association meetings, theological discussions, and edifying deaths. Other matters — the "Norwalk tragedy," for instance — are brought in to vary the tale. We cannot discover in the account of the "Lindenvale Institute," or of Mr. Castlereagh's fortunes and notes therein, any reason for publishing it to the world. The circumstances are not peculiar enough to be in themselves interesting, and the characters, whether of pupils or teachers, are not remarkable in the drawing, whatever they may have been in the reality. Those who

have had children in the school ought to buy a copy of the book, and perhaps the friends of Castlereagh may be interested to see exactly how he lost his health, his money, and his hope. But we trust that a much-enduring public may now be spared, for one year at least, from the infliction of a book of pastoral confessions.

A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States, with Remarks on their Economy. By FREDERICK LAW OLMTED, Author of "Walks and Talks of an American Farmer in England." New York: Dix and Edwards. 1856. 12mo. pp. 723.

THIS book, a sensible and instructive one on an exciting subject, about which we have more noise than knowledge, is the result of two visits made to the South. The author informs us, in an advertisement, that of the first journey made in 1853, he "gave an account of his observations in the New York Daily Times." A second and longer visit to the South enabled him to revise those letters by the light of additional observations. The volume before us has grown out of the materials thus collected. We like the book, and hope it will be widely circulated and read. It belongs to a class of works on slavery, of which we have hitherto had too few,—almost none in fact. Rabid declamation, fanciful caricature, "conscientious contentiousness," pedantic abstractions, have formed the ordinary pabulum upon which the Northern mind has been fed.

The subject of slavery is a large one, and obviously admits of many divisions. There are three prominent branches of inquiry in which the public mind is likely to be increasingly interested: 1. The rightfulness of slavery, and its character, as a condition and an institution. 2. The practical working of the system, in an economical point of view. 3. The remedy for slavery, as it exists among us, allowing it to be an evil.

Most of the discussions which the subject has given rise to in our community have been confined to the first of the divisions we have named. And it is not difficult to understand why this must have the greater attractions of the three. There is a strong temptation to hazard opinions on any subject, especially if those opinions happen to coincide with forejudged conclusions of the popular mind. In abstractions and generalizations, whether political or moral, there is no fear before the eyes of the theorist of any appeal being made to facts and outward data, and of his being shown to be in the wrong by any such summary and conclusive method.

We do not mean to intimate that the question of the character, moral or political, of slavery has been more regarded than it merits, or that it is unnecessary to discuss this question further, on the ground that there is no difference of opinion on this point at the North. We are apprehensive that there is less uniformity of opinion among us on this subject than there once was; that there has been, of late years, a gradually increasing number of minds that formerly viewed slavery as an unqualified evil in its bearings upon both master and slave, and that have learned to admit doubts as to the correctness of their previous judgments; that have been obliged to concede something in mitigation of sentence, if not in favor of the institution; minds, in short, that are surprised at finding themselves wavering where they once were fixed. We ascribe this curious change in Northern sentiment, which is still going on, partly at least to the extravagant, positive, denunciatory tone of Abolition logic and literature. And we shall not, therefore, be very much surprised if it should be found necessary, even in New England, to construct a new argument to prove the absolute wrong of slavery. And for this reason all large, candid discussions of this point seem to us just as timely and needful now as in any past period.

Mr. Olmsted, however, does not discuss this question. He confines himself very much, if not exclusively, to the second method of treatment which we have indicated, and presents the results of his observations, to illustrate the practical working of slavery, as an organized system of involuntary labor. Nor does our author grapple with the third inquiry, — the Remedy for Slavery. The most courageous combatants in the antislavery field are very shy of this part of the subject, as they or any one may well be. It is not inviting in its aspect, nor does it promise an easy solution of the difficulty. Most of the Abolitionists, with more wisdom than honesty, shirk the whole question, and keep pounding with the hammer of agitation upon a single point, the sin of slavery, until the public mind has become benumbed by the united blows and clatter. The antislavery politician does not, of course, concern himself with this side of the subject. All he proposes or attempts is, to carry a measure, or to defeat a counter measure, into which slavery enters as an element, and by such means to acquire power, or to dispossess the present holders of power. It is certain that the question of remedy will have to be considered, whenever we are prepared to do anything effectual towards the removal of slavery. To affirm that simple emancipation is the remedy, will not be as likely to satisfy the intelligence or the conscience of the community as it might once have done. Not unlikely it may be discovered that

to loose the bonds of a slave and suffer him to go free is not, under all circumstances, sufficient to absolve any right-thinking Christian man, who may be morally implicated in the wrong done by slavery. Possibly it may be found out that, in certain cases, manumission would be cruelty, and that duty to the bondman is by no means to be discharged by pronouncing him free. It may come to be acknowledged that this, in many instances, is only what sheer selfishness, sharpened even to inhumanity by the close calculations for which such observers as Mr. Olmsted furnish the data, would dictate.

But for a thorough scrutiny of this momentous matter the mind of the nation has not yet shown itself to be prepared, and our author, we repeat, does not touch it. He confines himself to the second method of treatment already adverted to. He appears to be an accurate observer of that large class of important facts which is reducible to figures, and which can be summed up and set forth in tabular statements. He is a practical agriculturist himself, and gives us the means of comparing, with him, free labor as applied to agriculture, and the involuntary labor of the slave. This surely is one important direction in which to extend investigation. There is a vast mass of ignorance on this branch of the main subject, both at the North and at the South, that needs to be enlightened. And this is an office which agitation, however persistent and conscientious, cannot fulfil. All the *backbone* that the most stubborn virtue can furnish will not suffice, without some considerable amount of brain at the top of the vertebral column.

The Principles of Political Economy applied to the Condition, the Resources, and the Institutions of the American People.
By FRANCIS BOWEN, Alford Professor of Moral Philosophy and Civil Polity in Harvard College. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. 1856. 8vo. pp. 546.

AN interesting text-book is the prime condition for engaging the students in our higher seminaries in those departments of knowledge which involve theory and statistical deductions, though manufactured from facts of experience. For many years the greatest want which has been felt in our colleges was that of a text-book for the study of Political Economy. We know of no one so well furnished with all the qualifications for preparing such a volume as is Professor Bowen. In scholarly attainments, practical good sense, fair balance of mind, freedom from hobbies, and clearness of perception, he is eminently distinguished, and he has

besides such an excellent style of composition with such a gift at making himself understood, that his pages are attractive in themselves, whatever their topic. To crown all, he has learned in his academic duties precisely what is desired in the help and contents of a manual, and through the deficiencies or faults of poor books has received experimental wisdom for the preparation of such a one as is needed. We will not undertake to criticise the solid volume now before us. We have turned over its pages with the sole view of asking ourselves whether it looks attractive enough and intelligible enough to make what young men are apt to regard as a peculiarly dry theme more level to their interest and understanding. We can say only that we think we should now know more about the science if we had studied it in this book. Of course there must be theory in this science, and some of the most perplexing questions which it raises concern the limitations of that theory by facts which arrest its application everywhere, while even theory itself must give way, or one theory must be substituted for another, under the variations of climate, country, government, and social institutions. There is still much debatable ground in the science. On some incidental points there has been an entire revolution in practice which has compelled a change in theory. The merest glance over the crowded and interesting contents of the volume before us will show what a mass of subjects, all indissolubly wrought in with the social fabric, must be discussed, and how wide and full a culture is needed to make even a wise man competent to discuss the great theme. The volume labors to fix those principles of the science which are of universal application, and then to deal fairly with all questionable or erroneous notions which still connect themselves with the science through the authority of former theorists or the mistakes of recent writers, as established fallacies of practice. The book is especially to be valued on this continent, because it is the first work on the science which has recognized, according to their relative importance, what may properly be called the distinctively American principles of Political Economy. While the rivalries of national pride and interest are raising issues which skilful diplomacy seeks peacefully to dispose, or cunning ambition tries to turn to the help of its electioneering processes, the rise and growth of this republic have presented some new elements of political and economical science which compel the statesman and the theorist alike to look here for some of his newest and his wisest lessons. Professor Bowen has elaborated his pages with a direct view to the development of the sound principles which apply among ourselves. Thus his volume, while admirably adapted to its primary design as a college text-book, will be of great value to

merchants, manufacturers, and that army of young and middle aged men among us whose interest and whose responsibilities commit them to the development and the security of the means of wealth.

The Rod and the Staff. By THOMAS T. STONE. Boston : American Unitarian Association. 1856. 16mo. pp. 398.

THIS is the third volume in that one of the several series of works in course of publication by the American Unitarian Association which bears the title of the "Devotional Library." We heartily commend that classification of the works to be published from the Book-Fund, under which this edifying volume offers itself to a religious use distinct from any sectarian aim. It is written in a sweet and earnest spirit, which must commend it to all who seek to nourish the life of Christian piety in their hearts. Its contents are disposed under three general divisions, as follows: The Soul and its Comfort; The Social Affections and the Heavenly Love; and The Spiritual Deep. The first of these divisions treats of the emotional experiences which make the history of each soul under the vicissitudes of life, especially as such experiences present pleasing or painful contrasts. The second extends these personal experiences into the relations of life, to kindred, family, friends, neighborhood, country, and the Church. The third pursues the higher wisdom of life into the region of Christian convictions, conflicts, and aspirations.

The style and tone of these devotional pieces are eminently suited to the purpose of the writer, while they convey to us yet another token of the strength and reality of his own Christian faith. Devotional treatises have an appropriate language and method of their own, and all such works as have won the love and confidence of Christian readers will be found to have a closer resemblance, a more delicate harmony of spirit, and even of counsel, than can be found in any other class of writings. A peculiar combination of the hortatory and the argumentative will be noticed as the characteristic of such treatises. Gentleness and tenderness, earnestness and persistency, with an occasional boldness of rebuke and remonstrance, and a confidence in the truth which would allow of any degree of positiveness in stating it, are the necessary qualifications for a successful dealing with devotional and spiritual themes. Good taste and good sense, with refinement of feeling and prudent reserve, where forbidden limits have been reached, are indispensable conditions in a work addressed to cultivated minds, though the lack of one or more of

these qualities has not wholly deprived some very imperfect works of their ministry of edification. Mr. Stone's volume never offends by slighting any of these finer conditions, and it is richly furnished with all the qualities which commend a devotional essay to heart, mind, and spirit.

The Hillside Church ; or Reminiscences of a Country Pastorate.

By JOHN W. CHICKERING, D.D., Pastor of High Street Church, Portland, Maine. Boston : S. K. Whipple & Co. Portland : Sanborn and Carter. 1856. 16mo.

THE inhabitants of central Massachusetts, and travellers on the old stage route from Boston to Fitchburg, are familiar with the locality of "The Samson Wilder Meeting-House." The book whose title is given above is a pious improvement of a five years' pastorate at that remarkable institution. If a history of "that" what Dr. Chickering calls "singularly bold and startling enterprise" must be written, there are three methods in which it might be done. First, by writing a veritable history, a record of facts. Second, by treating the subject on general principles, and gathering whatever lessons of practical wisdom might be drawn from it to illustrate or strengthen religious institutions. Third, by selecting those things which were agreeable to the writer's feelings, or which illustrated his point of view and general style of thought more than they illustrated the subject. The objection to the first method would be, that it would lead the writer into a recital of personal scandal and neighborhood animosities which would be loathsome to write and disgraceful to print, beside exposing him to have a suit for libel hanging over him for the rest of his days. A veritable history of "The Samson Wilder Meeting-House" is unworthy of being written, and he who should undertake it would be guilty of an offence against good taste and good feeling. The objection to the second method would be that the residuum of wisdom gained would not pay for the analysis. The last resort, therefore, would be to record such a part of the truth as was most agreeable to the writer's inclinations, and give it an odor of truth by its association with religion. This last course Dr. Chickering has adopted, and it seems appropriate to his tastes and general build of mind. The book is feeble beyond expression, and written in good temper. The writer yields himself so amiably to his side of the subject, that he reminds us of the clever and easy California judge whom Squibob tells of, — he never liked to hear more than one side of a question, because it confused his

mind. And the pastor of the Hillside Church, with equal simplicity and honesty, avers that he writes "the truth, and nothing but the truth, if not in all cases, from motives of delicacy, the whole truth." What part of the truth "motives of delicacy" cover we are not informed, but we have no thought that the writer has put down aught in malice, or kept anything back from fear or favor. He has simply yielded to his inclinations.

The first thirty or forty pages of the book are devoted to an account of "building the old wastes," which means introducing "the worship of Jehovah, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost," into the towns of Lancaster, Bolton, Sterling, and Stow. The wastes were spiritual. The dying out of *Evangelical* faith had left one of the oldest and most intelligent communities in New England at that period to a great extent a spiritual desolation. This afforded a sorrowful contrast to the natural beauty of the landscape from Bolton Hill. There is a tradition that the pious mind of the projector of this enterprise was greatly pained by the sudden transition from the glory of the landscape to the misery and degradation of man. On being congratulated by a friend upon the beauty of his location, tradition says that he responded, "Yes, I have a fine situation, but from it I look abroad upon the dwellings of six thousand ruined souls." Painful indeed must have been the emotions of the young and enthusiastic pastor, "fresh from halls of learning," as he looked abroad from this beautiful eminence over the sweeping meadows and quiet pastures of the Nashua,

"Where every prospect pleases,
And only man is vile."

The author's description of the locality and its surroundings betrays rather a flower-garden faculty than poetic insight and power. Indeed, if an action could be brought for damage done to a landscape in poetic description, we think the author might be made to suffer.

But the moral and spiritual desolation must have most engaged his mind. That desolation included in its mighty sweep the nearly fifty years' ministrations of the venerable Dr. Thayer, and the eccentric, honest, practical "Father Allen." Mr. Chickering, in riding to a third service on Sunday, saw men pitching hay on seven different farms. Only seven families in one town were known to offer prayer at their own firesides. Church discipline had fallen into neglect, and was so slow in its operation that one man anticipated it, and excommunicated the Church. And all this for the want of "great gospel truths." To a man who had those "truths," this must have been an inviting field.

The projector of the "enterprise" had long felt the necessity of restoring "the ancient faith." He had returned from a for-

eign land a zealous convert to Calvinism. Finding no satisfaction in the services of religion at his early place of worship, he resolved on "church erection." His means were abundant, and he had a benevolent disposition. The immediate impelling motive was the opinion of a minister, expressed in private conversation concerning the character and work of Christ. Mr. Chickering's account of that conversation we are disposed to believe is an instance where he has not told "the whole truth": whether from "motives of delicacy" or by mistake, we do not know. We are inclined to think, however, from mistake; and we are confirmed in our opinion by the recollection, that a few years after this he made a mistake in quoting the language of Robinson to his people at Delft Haven. Be this as it may, it was determined that a house should be built; and after pledging upon paper three thousand and three hundred dollars, the projector and his neighbor walked out by moonlight to select a site. It appears that there was some secrecy in these early movements. But the good men were greatly confirmed and strengthened in that moonlight interview. They prayed on the spot to be directed in their undertaking, and it was made plain to them where the house should stand. The prayer made so strong an impression upon the mind either of him who offered it, or of him who joined in it, that it has been preserved. We cannot copy it, but its spirit is not at all diffused, and can have little value as a guide to devotion in general. Indeed it never can be used, unless the "Samson Wilder Meeting-House" was to be repeated.

The work went on. At the "raising" some "respectable" persons who were opposed to the new church broke up a drinking booth which had been established near the spot. This act was refreshing amid that moral desolation. At length the work was completed, and in its conveniences must have been fully equal to the buildings of that day. Furnace, organ, dining accommodations, charity-boxes, and "Nicodemus seats" in the passage-ways, for those who had not courage enough to come in. On the outside was a clock "striking the hours, on a bell of about two thousand pounds weight." "This child of faith" had no infancy, but was born mature. Preaching, from men of more or less distinction, was continued for a good while previous to Mr. Chickering's settlement, and he commenced his ministry with a church of thirty-six members. The projector paid the cost, and salary was never in arrears.

We have always esteemed it a great calamity to a minister to have a particular set of men in his parish, even as his counselors; much more to have any single man his paymaster. But Mr. Chickering, in his youthful zeal, seems to have considered this an excellence. He does not appear to have dreamed that

"this child of faith," born twenty-one years old, had twenty-one years less to live on that account. Neither does he seem to have conceived that the fact of its being under guardianship was a presumption that it could not take care of itself.

The religious experiences which the author recites we have not much taste for. He has great attainments for common-places and pietistic platitudes. Reading this part of the book is like whetting a scythe with a bar of soap. It brings no edge. It consists of various accounts of extraordinary conversions, from the ranks of coarse and wicked men, and stories illustrating a very low grade of religious thought. "The Widow's Missionary Son" is a powerful display of literary weakness and bad taste. Mr. Chickering's forte is evidently not in writing, and his book has no value as a contribution to religious literature. In respect of the insinuations which run through the whole book as to the insufficiency of Unitarianism, and accounting for all the wickedness in the community by the want of "great gospel truths," it indicates a narrow mind. They do not pitch hay Sundays in New Orleans, but the train-bands are out, and horse-racing is celebrated. The "great gospel truths" have the field there. Calvinism in some shape is almost the only faith that can live in a Slave State. We have no dispute about the manner in which ill-bred men may be improved, if only they *be* improved. We think that men who pitch hay Sundays contrary to God's commandment, or pull the linchpins from their neighbors' wagons to imperil the lives of men in riding home from prayer-meeting, had better be converted; and we will have no controversy about how they are converted, but rejoice at it altogether. And men who sell rum at the erection of meeting-houses, we would have repent and be baptized, and we will not quarrel with him who counts them as the gems in his immortal crown. But when a man professes to have a religious theory of great power over the hearts of men, and attributes the vices of society to the honest opinions of his fellow-men, it savors a little of ignorance and quackery. It is time that this style of speaking and thinking should come to an end among all decent persons. The worst thing in Mr. Chickering's book is this style. It betrays a mind of small grasp, and a Jewish, proselyting disposition, entirely unequal to a high level of Christian thought. To what extent Mr. Chickering's position at Bolton Hill contributed to give his mind an early direction we cannot tell. But it must have had its due effect on him. The book bears the marks of it, and while we congratulate Mr. Chickering on his early escape from the Hillside, we regret that he has not outgrown the spirit of those days.

Mr. S. V. S. Wilder was born in Lancaster on "the dark day,"

1780. He was educated as a merchant in a distinguished Boston house, and in about the year 1800 he went to Paris, where he remained for nearly thirty years, saving short intervals in which he visited this country. Immediately on his return to remain here, he established himself in Bolton as a man of wealth. He had always been what might be called a "ministers' man"; attentive to their wants, and fond of their society. While in Paris he took much interest in religious institutions at home. When the "Brick Church" in Lancaster was erected, he sent the drapery for the pulpit as a gift. In the days of "The Hillside Church" he was a kind-hearted, benevolent, narrow-minded, vain man. The sincerity of his religious faith cannot be questioned, neither is it to be supposed that he was greatly removed from his fellow-men by any heavenly gifts of grace. Nor were the sacrifices which he made for the truth such as to give him a place among the world's great benefactors. The church was never deeded to the society, but remained his own property, and in the days of his misfortune it went to pay his debts. His money gave him a great influence among a class of persons more common in New England then than now. There were many idle, thriftless, discouraged men. The use of intoxicating drinks was universal. Almost every farm was mortgaged at the "tavern" or the "store." This was the case everywhere. It was not confined to those places which lacked the "great gospel truths." Mr. Wilder's influence must have controlled a large number of men. He employed a great many "hands" on the farm, and lent money to many others; and while it may not be doubted that a strong religious zeal was manifested in that community, under the preaching of Beecher and Christmas, so much that some were "pricked in their hearts" and some went mad, it is no more than fair to suppose that many were under an honest pecuniary obligation to Mr. Wilder, which greatly strengthened them. Not to suppose this would be to reject all moral probabilities. And while we would not detract from the just measure of praise that may be due to the benevolent projector of the religious movement on Bolton Hill, we would object to his being voted a saint and placed on the calendar by those who were under pay. There was an extravagance and display in the enterprise, which impairs the reputation of the projector for simplicity. He was not only anxious for the truth, but there is a spirit of rivalry in man which was well turned to account. That the building was not needed there, time has abundantly shown; that there never was strength of conviction sufficient to support religious institutions there, is attested by the fact, that when Mr. Wilder ceased to pay, the people did not take it upon themselves. The building still stands, and we believe that the opinion of the com-

munity round about is the verdict of history, that it stands a monument of bigotry and folly, and that the advancement of Christian thought is removing society from its spirit, as truly as the revolving years are removing us from its times.

Five Years in Damascus: including an Account of the History, Topography, and Antiquities of that City; with Travels and Researches in Palmyra, Lebanon, and the Hauran. By REV. J. L. PORTER, F.R.S.L. London: John Murray. 1855. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 395, 372.

BESIDES the direct blessing of Christian schools, and the indirect influence of pure homes, Protestant missionaries have rendered a great service to the world by the geographical knowledge which they have diffused as well as rendered more accurate. And it is easy to see that where, as in Mr. Porter's case, a long residence has given familiarity with the native language and the most favorable introduction to the people, as well as the necessary acclimation, an intelligent, inquisitive, laborious missionary can accomplish far more than any chance traveller. The scene of investigation is near his own home; his books and charts are handy for reference; he can return for refreshment every month; he is all the while in the way of information and within the influence of incentive upon his particular subject of interest.

Rev. J. L. Porter, whom we found in 1851 commencing his work as an English missionary-student at Damascus, has given us in these carefully written and well-illustrated volumes no summer ramble or winter residence, repeating a thrice-told tale and echoing his predecessors' errors. From Damascus as a centre he has rayed out, particularly north, east, and south, into regions comparatively unknown and always perilous, unfrequented by even occasional traveller or mercantile adventurer; and has rectified all the existing maps, shown the inaccuracies of Burckhardt, the fancy sketches of Berghaus, the ingenious fictions of De Saulcy, and the arrant romancings of Buckingham. It was indeed a "pursuit of knowledge through difficulties." With all his facilities, his knowledge of the native speech and the native customs, his watchfulness and his intrepidity, his energy and his religious reputation, once at least he hardly escaped with his life, — and Palmyra brought him upon those very troubles which have deterred the majority of Oriental travellers from approaching the stately ruins of the queen city.

His narrative reminds us of Dr. Robinson's "Ecclesiastical

Researches" in its minuteness and thoroughness, its reliance upon careful measurements; we trust, too, in the certainty of its results. There is a tone of bitterness towards the Roman Catholics, and of scorn to the Greek Catholics, which are common amongst the Protestant missionaries, and a more pardonable detestation of Turkish oppressors. At a time when so many are giving a roseate hue to Turkish institutions, it is well to remember that the dearest country on earth to the universal Christian heart has been bleeding to death for centuries beneath their atrocious misgovernment. Of the vicinity of Busrah, where Mr. Porter's investigations are of the most value, he says (in chapter thirteenth): "A few years before Burckhardt visited this country there were some settled inhabitants in Sulkhad and Orman; but now they are completely deserted. Kureigeh is the nearest inhabited village. Every year, in fact, is narrowing the borders of the settled inhabitants, and unless a new system of government is ere long adopted, the *whole country east of the Jordan must be abandoned* by those who cultivate the soil. Nowhere on earth is there such a melancholy example of the fatal effects of tyranny, rapacity, and misrule. Fields, vineyards, pastures, villages, cities, alike deserted, and the few inhabitants that remain behind the barrier of rocks and mountains drag out a miserable existence, oppressed by the robbers of the desert on the one hand, and the still more formidable robbers of the government on other." Again, he declares, that "the history of Turkish rule in Syria would tend greatly to enlighten the eyes of European statesmen and citizens; and would unfold such a continued series of tyranny, extortion, and crime, as is almost unparalleled in the annals of the world." "If the sordid Pasha can wring as much from the poor peasant as will amply repay his outlay, he cares not though the soil become a desert, and the towns and villages heaps of ruins." A characteristic anecdote of Mohammed Pasha fills up this dreary picture. He had nominated a local chieftain to the southern division of Lebanon. On the officer's journey to his post, a rival met and murdered him. The mandate of the Pasha was: "No matter about the fellow's head; send me a hundred purses, and let who will be governor"!

As to Moslem learning, Mr. Porter confirms impressions which were becoming universal before this recent outburst of sympathy towards the waning crescent.

"In Damascus there is a large number of *colleges*, as some poetical travellers would designate them. These are in general large buildings, which have been founded by the piety or pride of some great man, and allowed to fall to decay and ruin by his successors. If occupied at all, it is at most by a few score of urchins squatting on the dirty ground and seesawing over a few leaves of the Koran, while they shout its verses

in unison, led by a graybeard sheikh, who sits knitting in the corner. Few of the Moslems advance beyond the first rudiments of education ; yet there are some in the city who are pretty well acquainted with their own literature, and possess a considerable knowledge of the state of science in Europe."

And, in the eleventh chapter, he describes a visit from perhaps the only schoolmaster in the Hauran.

"A venerable old man, with sparkling eyes and flowing beard. His school consisted of some twenty children, and I had seen them bawling over their lessons on a house-top. He stated, in reply to my questions, that the scholars had no books ; and he was obliged to teach them by writing letters and words on little boards, which they all carried about and rhymed over till the form and sound were imprinted on the mind. The Protestant missionaries," he adds in chapter sixteenth, "have done more for the advancement of education within the short period of twenty years, than the combined priesthood of all Syria has done through centuries."

The results of his examination of the regions north of Damascus and east of the Lake of Tiberias are confirmatory of the Jewish Scripture, especially of its earliest books. In the thirteenth chapter he sums up his more southern investigations in these words : —

"I had now finished my tour among the hills of Bathangel, or the Jebel Hauran, and was about to turn away from them, most probably for ever. I felt glad that I had been privileged to visit a country renowned in early history, and sacred as among the first provinces bestowed by God on his ancient people. The freshness and beauty of the scenery, the extent and grandeur of many of the ruins, the hearty and repeated welcomes of the people, and, above all, the convincing testimony afforded at every step to the minute accuracy of the Holy Scriptures, filled my mind with such pleasurable feelings as I had never before experienced in travel. I had often read how God had delivered into the hands of the children of Manasseh, Og, king of Bashan, and all his people ; and I had observed the statement that a portion of his territory contained *threescore cities* fenced with high walls, gates, and bars, besides unwallled towns a great many. I had turned to my atlas, where I found the whole of Bashan delineated, and not larger than an ordinary English county. I was surprised. That one city, nurtured by the commerce of a mighty empire might grow till her people could be numbered by millions, I could well believe ; that two, or even three, might spring up in favored spots, clustered together, I could also believe. But that *sixty walled cities*, besides unwallled towns a great many, should be found at such a remote age far from the sea, with no rivers and little commerce, appeared quite inexplicable. Inexplicable and mysterious though it appeared, it was strictly true. On the spot with my own eyes I had now verified it. Lists of *more than a hundred* ruined cities and villages in these mountains alone, I had tested and found correct, though not complete. More than thirty of these I had myself either visited or observed, so as to fix their positions on the map. Of the high antiquity of these ruins scarce a doubt can be entertained,

and the extent of the more important of them has already been estimated. Here, then, we have a venerable record more than three thousand years old, containing incidental statements and statistics which few would be inclined to receive on trust, and not a few to cast aside as glaring absurdities, yet which *close examination shows to be minutely accurate.*" — Vol. II. p. 206.

The Roman Exile. By GUGLIELMO GAJANI. Boston: J. P. Jewett & Co. 1856. 12mo. pp. 450.

A most warm and sincere esteem, founded on personal acquaintance with the author of this volume, and from hearing portions of his personal experience from his own lips, prepared us to peruse his pages with high-raised expectations and with pre-engaged sympathy. But it needs no additional feeling beyond what the volume itself will excite to fix upon it the profoundest interest of the reader. Professor Gajani, a gentleman of the highest refinement, and the most liberal culture, a graduate of the University of Bologna, and Doctor of the Civil and Canon Law, rehearses to us in the most engaging way the story of his early life, of his alienation even in childhood from the corrupt and oppressive system under which he was educated, and of the secret conflicts and processes by which his heart was trained to the ardent love of truth and liberty. The righteous cause to which he devoted himself leads him to present to us with all the simplicity and ardor of a true-hearted man, a brief relation of the arts of spiritual and political tyranny, and of the counter methods by which the patriotism of a moderate and Christian league among those who were most sensitive to oppression aimed to resist its sway. His narrative will be sure to win the respect and confidence of the reader. Not among the least Jesuitical of the means to which recourse has been had in order to prejudice the Italian movement, has been the attempt to array it to Englishmen and Americans in the guise of an atheistic and reckless enterprise. Professor Gajani treats that foul scandal as it deserves, and he makes us profoundly interested in the pure and noble spirits who have directed the movement and insisted upon keeping it loftily above all just imputations of impiety or passion. There has been a practice of forbearance, patience, prudence, disinterestedness, gentleness, and heroism in that movement, which by and by will produce a result most effective to securing a final, though it be a deferred triumph. So touchingly and skilfully has our author written his narrative, that we gather from it more hope for Italy than we cherished when the actual realization of

a shortlived republic in Rome seemed to have shone brightly upon its patriots. The author was a representative of the Roman people in their Constituent Assembly in 1849, and served as an officer in Rome during the siege by the French. He is the exile of his own book, and we assure our readers that the press does not often produce a work more worthy of their interest, or more sure to engage it.

Contributions to Literature ; Descriptive, Critical, Humorous, Biographical, Philosophical, and Poetical. By SAMUEL GILMAN, D. D. Boston : Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 1856. 12mo. pp. 564.

THOUGH we may suppose most of our readers to be acquainted with some portions of the contents of this volume, — especially with that rich piece of humorous and wise narrative, the “Memoirs of a New England Village Choir,” and that gem of portraiture, “Rev. Stephen Peabody and Lady,” — we may still commend these “Contributions” in their collected form to all who can appreciate alike the profounder and the lighter wealth of one of our most distinguished writers. Dr. Gilman can hardly be served by any encomium of ours upon the way in which he has filled life’s high demands of service either in his sacred calling or in the exercise of his intellectual gifts. His pages bear with them their own sufficient claim to the respect and gratitude of his readers. His thoughtful and mature wisdom, his moderation of judgment, his singleness and sincerity of spirit, give a charm to his pages which makes even the most abstract matter intelligible and pleasing. We hope that he will yet fulfil his long-cherished purpose of writing the History of a New England Singing-School. For while we accept gratefully Dr. Gilman’s philosophical and ethical pieces, as collected in this volume, we must express our belief that he has in him a vein of rich and winning humor of the most refined and delicate character, which would be sure to gleam over a record of the reminiscences of youth connected with a New England Singing-School.

At Home and Abroad, or Things and Thoughts in America and Europe. By MARGARET FULLER OSSOLI. Edited by her Brother, ARTHUR B. FULLER. Boston : Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 1856. 12mo. pp. 466.

THE letters which Madame Ossoli communicated to the New York Tribune, while as a resident in Rome she studied so ear-

nestly the workings of the late patriotic movement in Italy, — still hopeful of sure triumph, though under a temporary depression, — will always be of great value. Her vigorous intellect, and her ardent sympathy in every cause of freedom, combined to make the Roman movement one of most intense interest to her. She watched it day by day with the zeal and self-absorption of personal patriotism when it is of the most exalted and unselfish character. She hardly needed the close identification of her fate with the lot of one of the devoted band on the side of freedom to secure to it the hope and toil of her own life. It is therefore but a debt due to her memory, as well as a good service to one of the best departments of our literature, that her Letters should be gathered together from the columns of a newspaper and be fairly presented in a volume. This portion of the work now in our hands will impart authentic information to its readers, and touch their hearts with many gentle and many ennobling emotions. The editor has done an excellent service in carefully arranging the letters for republication. He has also revised and republished his sister's *Journal of a Summer Tour to our Western Lakes*, and has added some brief memorials of the distinguished writer. The whole volume is a memorial of one whose lofty ideal of life was consecrated by a tragic close.

Appleton's Cyclopædia of Biography: embracing a Series of Original Memoirs of the most distinguished Persons of all Times, written for this Work. American Edition, edited by FRANCIS L. HAWKS, D. D., LL. D. With numerous Illustrations. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1856. Royal 8vo. pp. 1058.

ALLOWING for the unavoidable limitations to which the execution of so comprehensive a plan as that expressed in the above title must be subject, this work may be regarded as signally successful. The English publisher had taken the first essential step towards any adequate working out of the plan of a Biographical Cyclopædia by giving over the preposterous idea that it could be accomplished by any one writer, however learned or versatile he might be. He therefore engaged a corps of eminent writers in various departments, as well as others who took up the pen for the special purpose of recording facts and dates in the lives of all sorts of characters who might claim a record of themselves. In this way all partialities of sect, party, class, profession, taste, fancy, and opinion, are avoided. Any inconvenience which one who would keep this volume by him for constant reference may experience from the brevity of some of the

memorials or the absence of some names for which he may consult it, is amply compensated by the advantage of having so much material within one pair of covers. Dr. Hawks has doubled the value of the original work for American readers by inserting names of our own countrymen. This he has done beyond our desire to decide an exact numeration by actual counting, though he assures us that he has procured or furnished memorials of thousands of Americans. The illustrations, of course, are of various excellence. A few of them are worthless; as, for instance, the portraits of John Quincy Adams and Fisher Ames. Those which present to us antique or modern dwelling-places, monuments, and relics, are generally very good.

INTELLIGENCE.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

MESSRS. LITTLE, BROWN, & Co. have added three more volumes to their series of the *British Essayists*, in presenting to us now the papers collected under the title of "*The Guardian*." As the promised series thus steadily multiplies the number of its volumes, it approves the enterprise of its projectors, and strengthens its claim for generous patronage. Admirably adapted for just such a use as will draw most improvement even from desultory reading, these volumes are peculiarly fitted for a place in a family sitting-room. The *British Essayists* undoubtedly stand before any other series of books in our language, in those qualities which adapt books for both amusing and improving a fraction of time.

Mr. John Bartlett, of Cambridge, has published a revised and enlarged edition of the "*Collection of College Words and Customs*" (12mo, pp. 508), which on its first issue we received with pleasure. Then it was anonymous, but now the author gives us his name, as Mr. B. H. Hall. The book will interest particularly all who are students in colleges, and such graduates as have numbered years enough since the completion of their course to have induced both a forgetfulness of college conventionalisms and a desire to refresh their memories upon them. Many parents who have given to their sons advantages which they never themselves enjoyed would learn something about college life from these pages that might be of real service to them.

Messrs. J. P. Jewett & Co., of Boston, have published a "*Life of Schamyl, and Narrative of the Circassian War of Independence against Russia*," by J. Milton Mackie. (12mo, pp. 300.) The author has availed himself of the most authentic means of information concerning the country and the career of that remarkable man whose prowess and

heroism have, through the newspapers, interested hosts of readers to learn more of his stirring history and his heroic life.

The same Publishers have issued an abridgment, by an American clergyman, of the excellent Memoir of Bishop Heber by his Widow. (12mo, pp. 348.) It is an adequate memorial of a holy and devoted man, whose spirit was baptized by his Master, a Master whom he loved to serve.

Messrs. Phillips, Sampson, & Co. continue their beautiful series of the British Poets, in large type, on fair paper, by an additional volume of the Humorous Poems of Thomas Hood (12mo, pp. 488), under the most competent editorial care of Epes Sargent. The editor has taken great pains to complete what he had begun in the former volume of Hood's Poems, and to hunt out all the stray pieces from that marvelously skilful pen of a charming poet.

Messrs. Ticknor and Fields have republished in a choice style that delightful string of poetical pieces from an unnamed English writer, entitled "The Angel in the House. The Betrothal." (16mo, pp. 201.) Some fine spirit has here touched the chords of the living lyre, and drawn from it notes of pure, true melody.

Messrs. Whittemore, Niles, and Hall have issued a new and revised edition of Lockhart's Spanish Ballads. (16mo, pp. 151.) This edition is furnished with a biographical notice of Lockhart, and with his own Introduction and historical annotations upon the subjects of his Ballads, all in a compact form adapting it to the use of a pleasing travelling companion. A fine steel engraving of the Author fronts the title-page.

Messrs. C. S. Francis & Co., of New York, have published a very handsome and convenient edition of the same work (16mo, pp. 154), also with an Introductory Memoir. There are readers enough in each city to exhaust the copies of both editions.

Messrs. D. Appleton & Co., of New York, from early sheets of the London edition, have produced an equally attractive American edition of the "Recollections of the Table-Talk of Samuel Rogers. To which is added Porsoniana." (12mo, pp. 343.) This volume has neither exceeded nor fallen short of public expectation. It is a pleasant, gossipy record of talk, sometimes small, occasionally pregnant, upon interesting topics and men.

The same firm have issued an excellent compend of the "History of Philosophy," beginning with the Greeks and coming down to the time of Hegel. (12mo, pp. 365.) The work is translated from the German of Dr. Albert Schweigler, by Julius H. Seelye. It will afford all the information which general readers have a desire to possess or time to obtain on the subject treated in its pages.

The same publishers have issued "Elements of Logic; together with an Introductory View of Philosophy in general, and a Preliminary View of the Reason," by Henry P. Tappan. (12mo, pp. 467.)

Messrs. Gould and Lincoln have continued their well-proved plan of gathering up the important discoveries and improvements in science and

art of a single year. "The Annual of Scientific Discovery," for 1856, contains, of course, the fruits of the year 1855. The volume is of great value, and of high practical use. The editor, Mr. David A. Wells, performs his work faithfully. (12mo, pp. 398.)

Messrs. Crosby, Nichols, & Co. have just published "Sermons by Charles Manson Taggart, with a Memoir by John H. Heywood." (12mo, pp. lxiii. and 413.) The late Rev. Mr. Taggart was for a brief period preceding his decease, at the early age of thirty-three years, the colleague with the Rev. Dr. Gilman in the pastorate of the Unitarian Church in Charleston, S. C. He was born in Montreal, educated a Presbyterian, adopted Unitarian views as the result of study, conviction, and experience, received his education for the ministry at Meadville, Pa., and entered upon it with an earnest heart and a well-furnished mind. The Memoir by his friend, our brother of Louisville, is a genial tribute to the deceased; and the sermons from his own pen are adequate tokens of his Christian experience and self-consecration.

The same publishers issue "Home Studies. By Rebecca A. Upton." (16mo, pp. 246.) This volume is a felicitous combination of the agreeable and the practically useful, in the pages of a book designed to lie at hand in the dwelling to furnish information of a pretty wide range. The housekeeper and the gardener, the cook and governess, may here find a vast number of receipts and counsels, the gatherings of a lifetime, and all applicable to those daily uses of economy and comfort, which secure against waste, and multiply the resources of a moderate happiness in the dwelling, — happiness all the more real, because moderate.

The same publishers are preparing for publication a volume of Sermons by Professor Huntington, of Cambridge, which will be looked for with interest, as specimens of earnest, living preaching, from a master in that great attainment.

Governor Bradford's History of Plymouth Colony. — We had hoped to have given in this number of our journal an account of this precious relic of the past, with extracts from its rich pages, but we are compelled to defer our purpose till our next issue. By the courtesy of Mr. Charles Deane, who has performed the very serious task of editing the volume with equal modesty, good taste, discretion, and literary ability, besides illustrating its pages by very careful historical annotations, we have had the pleasure of examining the sheets of the work. We will only say, in advance of a more adequate reference to it, that the work is worthy to stand by the side of the corresponding work of the honored Governor of the Massachusetts Colony. Winthrop and Bradford now have their memorials with us in legacies from their own pen, rehearsing to us the toils and buffetings of their wilderness work, and exalting the tribute of our profound respect for their own eminent virtues. The volume will very soon appear as one of the series of the Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections.

Messrs. Dana & Co., of New York, have just published, "Men and Times of the Revolution; or, Memoirs of Elkanah Watson, including Journals of Travels in Europe and America, from 1777 to 1842; with his Correspondence with Public Men, and Reminiscences and Incidents of the Revolution. Edited by his Son, Winslow C. Watson." (8vo,

pp. 460.) The volume contains much that is entertaining in its relations of private experience, and in its references to matters of high public concern and to men of prominent influence in stirring times; it is of value as a contribution to history.

Messrs. J. P. Jewett & Co. publish, in imitation of the old books of an antique typographical style, one of the short devotional essays of a period anterior to the Reformation. It bears the title of "Theologia Germanica," or German Theology, is from an unknown author, was once edited and highly extolled by Luther, and now comes to us, as translated by Susanna Winkworth, from a German original edited by Dr. Pfeiffer, and preceded by a Preface from the Rev. Charles Kingsley, a Letter from Bunsen, and an Introduction by Professor C. E. Stowe. We were afraid that all this porch work would hardly be justified by the edifice to which it gives us access. But we have been equally gratified with all the contents of the volume.

We can give but the titles of some other new volumes which we have not found time to examine.

An Introduction to the Study of *Æsthetics*. By James C. Moffat. Cincinnati: Moore, Wiltach, Keys, & Co. 12mo. pp. 284.

The Philosophy of the Weather, and a Guide to its Changes. By T. B. Butler. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 16mo. pp. 414.

'98 and '48. The Modern Revolutionary History and Literature of Ireland. By John Savage. New York: Redfield. 12mo. pp. 384.

Confession, or The Blind Heart, a Domestic Story. By W. Gilmore Simms. New York: Redfield. 12mo. pp. 398.

The Island of Cuba, by Alexander Humboldt. Translated from the Spanish, with Notes and a Preliminary Essay. By J. S. Thrasher. New York: Derby & Jackson. 12mo. pp. 397.

Courtship and Marriage, or The Joys and Sorrows of American Life. By Mrs. Caroline Lee Hentz. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson. 12mo. pp. 522.

Charlemont, or The Bride of the Village, a Tale of Kentucky. By W. Gilmore Simms, Esq., author of "The Partisan," "Mellichampe," &c., &c. Redfield, 34 Beekman Street, New York. 12mo. pp. 447.

Literary Criticisms and Other Papers. By the late Horace Binney Wallace, Esq., of Philadelphia. Philadelphia: Parry and McMillan, successors to A. Hart, late Carey and Hart. 1856. 12mo. pp. 460. A very agreeable collection of Essays upon a great variety of topics.

We have received the fourth and last volume of The Works of the late Edgar Allan Poe, with a Memoir by Rufus Wilmot Griswold, and Notices of His Life and Genius, by N. P. Willis and J. R. Lowell. In four volumes. IV. Arthur Gordon Pym, &c. Redfield, 34 Beekman Street, New York. 1856. 12mo. pp. 447. And we like his prose much better than his poetry.

From D. Appleton & Co. we have "Rachel Gray: a Tale founded on Fact. By Julia Kavanagh." And it is a very simple, touching story of fidelity and sacrifice in humble life, a portion of those "annals of the poor" which, when gracefully recorded by one who writes from the heart as well as with taste, are sure to be earnestly welcomed and to be productive of much good.

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More than twenty years ago I procured the Quarto edition, and have used it constantly ever since. My pursuits in life have rendered it necessary to consult it frequently, as well as other works of a kindred or similar character, particularly Dr. Johnson's Quarto of the latest and best edition, Richardson's Dictionary, Crabbe's Synonyms, and Horne Tooke's Diversions of Purley. In professional, political, and literary discussions, the turning point of the argument has often been the exact meaning of words, as ascertained not only from their use, but from their derivation: while in many cases, perhaps in a majority of them, the works referred to have failed to give the desired information, that of Dr. Webster has always furnished precisely what has been desired, and I have long felt individually indebted to the illustrious author, for the labor and time he has saved me by his unwearied patience, profound learning, and unsurpassed industry.

It is unquestionably the very best Dictionary of our language extant. It is a model of copiousness and precision; and its great accuracy in the definition and derivation of words, gives it an authority that no other work on the subject possesses. It is constantly cited and relied on in our Courts of Justice, in our Legislative bodies, and in public discussions, as entirely conclusive.

It is scarcely necessary to add, that such a work is a treasure which cannot be dispensed with by any one who would thoroughly understand and correctly use his mother tongue. It should be in every school in our land, that our youth may not be obliged, as I have been, to unlearn the false pronunciation, the unsound philology, and the erroneous definitions, which were taught me in my childhood.

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John C. Spencer

DICTIONARIES IN BOSTON.

The following article appeared in the "Mercantile Library Reporter," for March, 1855, being voluntary testimony from the pen of the librarian.

In the contest which is being waged between the Springfield and Boston publishing houses, as to the merits and popularity of their respective dictionaries, it seems to be claimed by the Boston publishers and their allies in the editorial ranks, that in this city and vicinity Worcester has almost the entire field to himself, and has carried the pickets on several outposts of the enemy's camp in other sections of the country. If Worcester is the standard authority in Boston, it is a singular fact that while the best editions of both these dictionaries are in the Mercantile Library, both side by side upon the catalogue, and both accessible to our members, Worcester has not been called for once, that the librarian or his assistants can recollect, for the past three years. This copy was placed in the library in May, 1848; it has still on its edges the original polish of the binder's knife; and were it not for the official stamps of the Association, it would pass for a new copy in any bookstore. Webster's Unabridged, which has been in the library since October, 1849, is in constant use, it being no unusual circumstance for it to be inquired after twenty times a day. We invite those who believe that Worcester is the standard authority in Boston to a personal examination of the two copies in this library, and the other facts we have stated. The condition, also, of the copies of the two dictionaries in the Boston Athenæum indicates the same fact, though not in so marked a manner — that, whichever is the standard authority in Boston, Webster is the one that is used.

We are well aware that the editors of several of the daily journals in this city take great satisfaction in lauding the virtues of Worcester, and in depreciating the merits of Webster; and from this circumstance, probably, the claim we have alluded to has obtained its chief support. Editors, however, are persons of strong local attachments, of like passions and prejudices with other men, and often in less favorable positions for observation; frequently they are surrounded by influences of which the public little dream, and on literary topics we must rely more on facts and on our own judgments than on their opinions. From the respect we entertain for so great and admirable a work

as the American Dictionary, we have deemed it our duty to give it the benefit of the facts we have stated.

Great as is the credit due to Dr. Webster for his thirty-five years of labor upon it, he is not its sole author; no one man could have accomplished such a work. To his son-in-law, Professor Goodrich, who, with an able corps of assistants, spent three years, after the death of Dr. Webster in 1843, in revising the work, and bringing out the unabridged edition—to Dr. Percival, the poet, Professors Silliman, Olmsted, Murdock, Gibbs, Tully, Stanley, Dana, and Thacher, of Yale College, who, by a division of labor, supplied and defined scientific words and technical terms, each in his own department,—is due, in a good measure, the popularity of the present quarto edition. If you step into a bookstore in London and ask for the best dictionary of the English language, the American Dictionary in quarto is handed to you. At Paris, Leipsic, and Hamburg it has no rival. The success of Dr. Webster in reforming many of the absurd philological anomalies of our language, which so excites the ire of foggy critics in this vicinity, is its highest recommendation in foreign countries.

Little more than a year ago, Mr. H. G. Bohn, the noted London publisher, when he reprinted Worcester, had the audacity to state on the title page that it was “compiled from the materials of Noah Webster, LL. D., by Joseph E. Worcester,” a most mendacious assertion, for which he was severely censured by the friends of both the American lexicographers. The fact, however, is significant of Webster’s popularity in England. The wily publisher, with a hand on the pulse of public opinion, and with an eye on business, would never have stolen the name of Dr. Webster for such a purpose unless it was one that inspired confidence with a British public. The great “Imperial Dictionary,” edited by Dr. Ogilvie, and published by Blackie & Son, Glasgow, the price of which is twenty dollars, states in prominent capitals upon its title page that it is based on Webster, and in fact copies it almost entire. While such is the reputation of the great American lexicographer abroad, the publishers of the rival dictionary in Boston are showing him up as a quack and an ignoramus. In a statement of two columns in the *Transcript* of February 22d, which must excite the pity as well as contempt of those who are conversant with the facts of the controversy, making use of a letter written by an Edward S. Gould, they speak of him in this manner: “Webster’s career was a mistake, because based on false assumptions. He assumed that the language needed reformation, and that he was able to reform it; the latter blunder being the far greater of the two.”

In the battle of the dictionaries, the publishers of Worcester, and its critical supporters, carefully exclude from the discussion the most essential features of lexicography—those on which Webster far excels all others, and those on which the American Dictionary has acquired its present popularity. They

can see nothing between the covers of the huge quarto of fourteen hundred and fifty-six pages but a *spelling book*. They are continually harping on orthography, *orthography*; and all their published recommendations reiterate the beauties of Worcester's orthography, omitting to speak of the weightier matters of the law. We shall consider this matter of orthography presently.

We are not speaking of schoolboys or the abridged school dictionaries when we state that where one person consults a dictionary for the spelling of a word, fifty go to it for a definition or for an etymological inquiry; and what is wanted is not a general definition, — that the person is possessed of already, — or a conglomerate batch of definitions, after reading which the most natural inference is, that the word can mean any thing and every thing. What the student needs is a methodical, classified, and scientific arrangement, in which the derivation of the word is stated, its original meaning, then its secondary and derived meanings in regular order, with all its niceties of signification clearly set forth, and with examples under each division. The dictionary that best conforms to this standard, this universal demand of the student, will be *the* dictionary of the English language, let a few equivocal words be spelt as they may be.

Let us test the merits of Worcester and Webster in these particulars by citing an example from each — the substantive *suit*, for instance. Worcester has the following: —

SUIT, (süt,) *n.* [*suite*, Fr.] A set of the same kind; a set of things correspondent to each other; as, a *suit* of clothes: — a prayer; petition; request; courtship; pursuit: — consecution; series; retinue; suite. [See SUITE.] (*Law.*) A prosecution of right before any tribunal; as, a civil *suit*; a criminal *suit*; an action. — *Suit-covenant*, a covenant to sue at a certain court. — *Suit-court*, the court to which attendance is owed. — *Suit-service*, duty of feudatories to attend the court of their lord.

Webster for the same word gives the following: —

SUIT, (sute,) *n.* [Norm. *suit* or *suyt*; Fr. *suite*, from *sivre*, to follow, from L. *sequor*. (See SEEK.) In Law Latin, *secta* is from the same source.]

Literally, a following; and so used in the old English statutes.

1. Consecution; succession; series; regular order; as, the same kind and *suit* of weather. [*Not now so applied.*] — Bacon.

2. A set; a number of things used together, and in a degree necessary to be united, in order to answer the purpose; as, a *suit* of curtains, a *suit* of armor; sometimes with less dependence of the particular parts on each other, but still united in use; as, a *suit* of clothes, a *suit* of apartments.

3. A set of the same kind or stamp; as, a *suit* of cards.

4. Retinue; a company or number of attendants or followers; attendants; train; as, a nobleman and his *suit*. [This is sometimes pronounced as a French word, *sweet*; but in all its senses this is the same word, and the affectation of making it French in one use and English in another is improper, not to say ridiculous. The French orthography SUITE is rejected very properly by Jameson.]

5. A petition; a seeking for something by petition or application.

Many shall make suit to thee. — John xi.

6. Solicitation of a woman in marriage ; courtship. — *Shak.*

7. In *law*, an action or process for the recovery of a right or claim ; legal application to a court for justice ; prosecution of right before any tribunal ; as, a civil *suit* ; a criminal *suit* ; a *suit* in chancery.

In England, the several *suits* or remedial instruments of justice are distinguished into three kinds — actions personal, real, and mixed. — *Blackstone.*

8. Pursuit ; prosecution ; chase. — *Spenser, Cyc.*

Suit and service ; in *feudal law*, the duty of feudatories to attend the courts of their lords or superiors in time of peace, and in war to follow them and perform military service. — *Blackstone.*

To *bring suit* ; a phrase in law, denoting literally to bring *secta*, followers or witnesses to prove the plaintiff's demand. The phrase is antiquated, or rather it has changed its signification ; for to *bring a suit*, now, is to institute an action.

Out of suits ; having no correspondence. — *Shak.*

Suit-covenant, in *law*, is a covenant to sue at a certain court. — *Bailey.*

Suit-court ; in *law*, the court in which tenants owe attendance to their lord. — *Bailey.*

Here is a fair illustration of the respective value of the two works in fulfilling the essential requisitions of a dictionary. Hence we see why the unbiased student will never go to Worcester for a definition or a philological investigation when Webster is at hand ; here, also, we have the explanation of the fact that Worcester is not used in our library.

Now let us look to this matter of orthography. From its earliest history to the present day, the English language has been undergoing continual changes in its orthography. Our Saxon forefathers were valiant men, but they were not philologists ; and having no guide but the ear, each writer followed his own judgment or fancy in spelling. A great portion of Saxon words were written by different authors two or three different ways, and some of them fifteen or twenty. For hundreds of years this chaos of orthography continued ; and although there was a gradual improvement, yet even down to so recent a period as the latter part of the seventeenth century, the orthography of the language was so unsettled that the better class of writers frequently spelt the same word in two or three different ways on the same page. Such instances are frequent on the Massachusetts Colonial Records. Here is a specimen of the spelling of those days. It is from a deposition of Ann Smith, in 1672, on the matter of witchcraft, and is from Mass. Archives, Vol. 135, Folio 6.

" * * * and further the Deponant Saith, thatt if She Came again she would kill Her. and att another time Since thatt, She Sitting in the Corner, that there Came a thing like a Grey Catt, and Spake to Her, & Said to her, that if She would Com to Her on the Vgly Day, She would Give Her fine things, & further this Deponantt Saith. nott. Ann Smith Affirmed to this Above writen ye 12th 8th m. 1672, before mee Samll Dalton."

The reader will perceive that some progress has been made in orthography within the last hundred and eighty-three years ; and the greater portion of it has occurred within the last fifty years. Few of us are so young as not to

remember great changes that have taken place in our own times; and they have invariably been for the better. The vocabulary of our language has wonderfully increased by the infusion of words and derivations from other languages, and these changes were never going on more rapidly than at the present. It is impossible to stop the enlargement or the reformation of the absurd inconsistencies of our language so long as it is spoken by such an active and enterprising race. Conservative criticism and a pertinacious clinging to effete anomalies will waste their strength and temper in vain. Individuals may remain behind; but the language is progressive. Horace lived in the golden age of Roman literature, yet he did not shudder, as some of our modern critics do, at changes in that beautiful language, in the use of which he was so skillful. He states a philological fact with regard to every language, as well as his own, when, in "*Ars Poetica*," he says, —

"*Multa renascentur, quæ jam cecidere, cadentque
Quæ nunc sunt in honore vocabula, si volet usus,
Quem penes arbitrium est et jus et norma loquendi.*"

What our friends, the critical supporters of Worcester, would delight in would be an absolute and complete *petrification* of the orthography of our language in its present form — that is, as Mr. Worcester gives it; but which edition would best suit them we are not informed, as Mr. Worcester embraces the privilege, in every edition, of making his orthography conform more and more to Dr. Webster's standard. This stereotype process, applied to our orthography, could have been more consistently accomplished at any other period, in the year 1672 for instance, than at present. Never in any year was so much attention and learning bestowed upon philology, and never were so many important changes coming into general use, as in the year 1855; and it is an important fact in this discussion, that these changes are universally in the direction of Webster's improvements. Dr. Webster might have won more temporary applause by perpetuating the absurdities then in vogue; but like a true lexicographer, he chose to lead the van of reform, and to commit his reputation to posterity.

We consider that the comparative merits of the two dictionaries rest chiefly upon other grounds than simply of orthography, which is the only topic brought into discussion by the friends of Worcester, and those grounds we have before alluded to. The fact that the orthography of a dictionary conforms to venerable usage, such usage as we have considered, is a very small recommendation; and such a work requires very little labor or originality of investigation in its preparation. In the present unsettled mode of spelling a few words and classes of words, it becomes every one to adopt such a standard as best conforms to the analogies of the language — to spell like a gentleman and scholar, and not like an automaton. In our own case we usually make our spelling conform to the standard of Webster, but not inva-

riably. We generally spell *traveller* with two *l*'s, because, having been accustomed to see that spelling, it looks better to our eye, although we confess that Webster's method of spelling the word is preferable, for the reason that words of two syllables, accented on the first, do not double the final consonants in their derivatives; and custom, which Horace says is the arbitrator of language, must in the case of this word eventually settle upon Webster's orthography.

We confess to a partiality for old forms and venerable customs. We never lay aside an old hat for a new one, or don a long-skirted coat in the place of our rusty, short-skirted companion, without a feeling of regret. A wise man, however, yields to the discreet suggestions of his hatter and tailor; for sooner or later fashion is sure to be revenged on us, if we undertake to thwart her decrees.

We see no need of a conservative gentleman's falling into a passion and losing his appetite because Webster spells *defense* with an *s*, when he himself has been accustomed to spell it with a *c* from his youth up. If he will consider the reasons for the change, his better judgment must approve of it. The word comes from the Latin *defensio*; in French it is *defense*; and in some of its English derivations, as *defensive*, we are obliged to use the original *s*. Is it not better and more philosophical to restore the primitive method of spelling the word, thus making the orthography of the word itself and its derivatives uniform?

The English receive such changes in orthography in much better humor than our friends the conservative critics before mentioned. These latter are the same gentlemen who conducted the memorable crusade against the New York publishers of Macaulay's History, for having the audacity to make its orthography conform to Webster's standard. The achievements of this campaign find no counterpart in history, unless it be in the exploits of the Spanish Don against the windmill. Having expressed their pious horror of such sacrilege, in every form by which the newspaper press, reviews, and magazines could convey it,—having caused another edition to be published, in which Mr. Macaulay's spelling was strictly observed, but which did not, by the way, in many instances, correspond with that of their ideal standard, Worcester,—Mr. Macaulay himself was finally appealed to for sympathy. Mr. Macaulay replied in substance that it was a matter of supreme indifference to him how they spelt his writings, provided they made him state just what he intended. He hoped they would make the orthography of his History correspond to the best usage in America; and he complimented the appearance of the New York edition. Such is the liberal tone of a large portion of the educated men of England; and when the heat of the present contest shall have passed, such will be the liberality of the educated men of America.

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The *New York Evening Post*, in speaking of this Review, says, —

"We do not remember to have seen elsewhere such full justice done to Noah Webster's System of Orthography, under which the English language has been corrupting for the last quarter of a century, as in an article which we find in the last number of the *Democratic Review*. We have copied it at length in our columns, and would gladly contribute toward the expense of having it read twice a year in every school house in the United States, until every trace of Websterian spelling disappears from the land. It is a melancholy evidence of the amount of mischief one man of learning can do to society, that Webster's System of Orthography is adopted and propagated by the largest publishing house; through the columns of the most widely circulated monthly magazine, and through one of the ablest and most widely circulated newspapers in the United States.

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An American Dictionary of the English Language. By
NOAH WEBSTER. 1828-1853.

SOME five and twenty years have elapsed since this dictionary was first issued ; and, to its compiler and publishers, they have been years of success. The time for producing the work was fortunate. Our language had grown rapidly for a considerable period ; its vocabulary was largely increased by the contributions of science, by numerous adoptions from foreign tongues, and by an accumulation of derivatives from our own established words ; so that a well-digested record of the progress of the language was really needed. Besides, the parties in interest, following the suggestion of the title page, had industriously cultivated an *Esprit-Americain* in behalf of the book, which materially aided its favorable reception.

If Webster had confined himself to recording such additions of words as usage had sanctioned, to a careful sifting of etymologies, and to his own valuable definitions, his work would have been as great an acquisition to literature as to his individual profit. But, unfortunately, like many other men, priding himself most on what he was least fitted for, and assuming a character for which few men *are* fitted,—that of a reformer,—he added to his legitimate labor the gratuitous task of improving the orthography of the language.

True, language, like all things human, is mutable. So long as it continues to be spoken, it will continue to change. From the days of JOHN-SON to the days of Webster, thousands of words had been added to the common stock, and many variations had taken place in the meanings of words. Spelling, also, had undergone some modifications. For example,

the *k* of *musick*, *physick*, etc., and the *u* of *favour*, *honour*, etc., had been gradually dropped by good writers, though probably without good reason ; and thus orthography, too, was in a state of progress. This was an undesirable state ; for it left the student without any absolute standard. And if the student chose to refine upon the matter, he would soon see that not only was there no absolute standard, but that the very principles of our orthography — its rules and its analogies — were exceedingly defective.

This is all true ; but it is also true that discovering defects is one thing, curing them another ; and it is the fate of reformers, generally, to propose remedies that are worse than the disease. They can see that such and such wheels of the machine have an eccentric motion ; but they cannot see that cutting away what they deem superfluous flanges may disturb other wheels that are regulated by that very eccentricity. A change which the reformer thinks will promote simplicity, may happen to produce confusion ; and, unless he fully understands the machinery, he is pretty certain to do mischief by meddling with it.

This would seem to be Webster's predicament. He aspired to a Newtonian law that would reconcile all orthographical inconsistencies ; he produced certain arbitrary rules of his own creation that reconcile nothing, that are whimsically limited in their scope, and are ridiculous from their reciprocal contradictions.

Webster remarks that "the chief value of a dictionary consists in its definitions." Some one else remarks, that "opinions differ." Yet it must be acknowledged that Webster's remark, as applied to *his own* dictionary, is not far from the truth. The vocabulary of his book has, certainly, the merit of amplitude. He says it "contains sixteen thousand words not to be found in any similar preceding work ;" but when one opens the book in the middle, and finds, consecutively,

<i>irremovability,</i>	<i>irremovable,</i>
<i>irremovably,</i>	<i>irremoval,</i>
<i>irremunerable,</i>	<i>irrenowned,</i>
<i>irreparability,</i>	<i>irreparable,</i>
<i>irreparableness,</i>	<i>irreparably,</i>
<i>irrepealability,</i>	<i>irrepealable,</i>
<i>irrepealableness,</i>	<i>irrepealably,</i>
<i>irrepentance,</i>	

he may, perhaps, doubt whether "the value of the dictionary" increases in the direct ratio of its voluminousness. Webster's etymologies, too, are

copious; probably more so than any preceding lexicographer's, in the proportion of three to one; but as their genuineness is not always beyond question, their quantity is hardly a fair measure of their "value." The orthography of the dictionary requires a more careful consideration.

The principles — or rather the dogmas — of Webster's proposed reform, are embodied in the following enumerated paragraphs:

1. Considering that the tendency of our language to greater simplicity and broader analogies ought to be watched and cherished with the utmost care, he felt that whenever a movement toward wider analogies and more general rules had advanced so far as to leave but few exceptions to impede its progress, those exceptions ought to be set aside at once, and the analogy rendered complete.

2. We had numerous words derived from the French, originally ending in *re*, as, *cidre*, *chambre*, etc. And, as these had gradually conformed to English spelling, until the number ending in *re* was reduced to fifteen or twenty, with their derivatives, it was necessary to complete the analogy at once by transposing the terminations of the remainder. *Acre*, *massacre*, and *lucre*, however, are necessary exceptions, since transposing their terminations would endanger their pronunciation.

3. We had many hundreds of primitives ending in a single consonant, whose derivatives were formed by the addition of *ing*, *ed*, *er*, etc., and in their derivatives, this single consonant was doubled when the accent fell on it, as, *forget*, *forgetting*; but it was not doubled when the accent fell on a preceding syllable, as *garden*, *gardener*. There were also about fifty words ending in *l*, in which the analogy was violated, as *travel*, *traveller*. It was necessary, therefore, at once to strike out the superfluous *l* from these fifty words. But the *ll* was retained in *chancellor*, *metallurgy*, *crySTALLine*, with their cognates, because they were derived directly from the Latin and Greek, *cancellarius*, *metallum*, and *κρύσταλλος*.

4. *Expense*, *recompense*, *license*, which formerly had a *c* in their last syllable, had since taken an *s*, because *s* is used in their derivatives, as, *expensive*, etc. As, in this instance, it was necessary to change only three words to complete the analogy, namely, *defence*, *offence*, and *pretence*, their *c* was at once replaced with an *s*, and they were written *defense*, *offense*, and *pretense*. It had been asked, why not spell *fence* in the same manner? And nothing is easier than the answer; the derivatives require the *c*; as, *fencing*, etc., and therefore the *c* of *fence* is retained.

5. *Foretel*, *instil*, *distil*, *fulfil* should be written *foretell*, *instill*, etc., because their derivatives, *foretelling*, *instilling*, etc., are so written.

6. *Dulness, fulness, skilful, wilful*, must be written *dullness, fullness*, etc., because their primitives are so written; as, *dull, full, skill, will*. *Walker* says there is no reason why we should not write *dullness, fullness, skillful*, and *willful*, as well as *stiffness, gruffness*, and *crossness*.

7. Such compounds as *befall, miscall, install, forestall, inthrall, enroll*, and their derivatives, *befalling, miscalling, installing, forestalling, inthrallment*, and *enrollment*, are spelled with the *ll*, to prevent a false pronunciation.

8. *Mould* and *moult* should be spelled *mold* and *molt*, because the *u* has been dropped, or never was used, in *gold, bold, fold, colt*.

9. *Wo* should be spelled *woe*, because *doe, foe, hoe, toe*, and all similar nouns of one syllable are so spelled. The parts of speech other than nouns, as, *go, so, no*, retain the termination in *o*; as also do nouns of more than one syllable, as, *motto, potato, tomato*.

10. *Practise*, the verb, should be spelled *practice*, because the noun is so spelled. *Drought* should be spelled *drouth*, because it is extensively so pronounced. *Height* should be spelled *hight*, because it was so spelled by *MILTON*. *Ton* should be spelled *tun*, and *molasses melasses*, because that spelling is more consistent with the etymologies. *Contemporary* should be spelled *cotemporary*, because it is more easily pronounced. *Plough* should be spelled *plow*, because that spelling more naturally represents the sound. *Axe* should be spelled *ax*, because *axe* is an improper spelling.

11. Verbs from the Greek $\iota\zeta\omega$, and others formed in analogy with them, have the termination in *ize*, as, *baptize, legalize*, etc. *Catechise* and *exorcise* are exceptions. Verbs, and some nouns, derived directly from the French, and a few from other sources, have the termination in *ise*, as, *advertise, advise, affranchise, chastise, circumcise, comprise, compromise, criticise, demise, despise, devise, disfranchise, disguise, emprise, enfranchise, enterprise, exercise, merchandise, misprise, premise, reprise, revise, supervise, surmise, surprise*.

These eleven paragraphs, dogmas, rules, or whatever they may be termed, form, with the exception of a few "instances" entirely too trivial to be discussed, the sum total of Webster's orthographical creed, presented substantially in his own words.

1. The assumptions of number 1 are characteristic and suggestive. They prophetically weigh and measure the lexicographer. Nobody can doubt what sort of orthography will follow such a preamble. The "tendencies" which it would puzzle any other philologist to discover, the

complacent "*solicitude*" with which those tendencies are "*watched and cherished*," and the heroism which summarily removes impeding "*exceptions*," (regardless of consequences, as reformers always nobly proclaim themselves,) are consistent with each other, and pleasant to look upon.

2. Webster found fifteen or twenty words derived from the French, and retaining their original termination in *re*, "although numerous other words, of similar derivation and termination, had gradually conformed to English spelling;" that is, the *re* had been transposed to *er*, as, *cidre* to *cider*, *chambre* to *chamber*, etc. What Webster means by the term "English spelling," in this connection, is not obvious; *re* is as consistent with any admitted or fixed principle of English orthography as *er*; but the reason why these fifteen or twenty words retained their original termination, and why Webster should have let them alone, is obvious enough to every one but himself; namely, that their *derivatives required it*. As Webster found the words, they stood thus:

<i>theatre,</i>	<i>theatrical,</i>
<i>sepulchre,</i>	<i>sepulchral,</i>
<i>centre,</i>	<i>central,</i>
<i>lustre,</i>	<i>lustrous, etc., etc.</i>

As he left them, they stand thus:

<i>theater,</i>	<i>theatrical,</i>
<i>sepulcher,</i>	<i>sepulchral,</i>
<i>center,</i>	<i>central,</i>
<i>luster,</i>	<i>lustrous, etc., etc.;</i>

that is, he transposed the termination of the primitive, to conform to *his rule*, and then *retransposed* it in the derivative to conform to "English spelling." *His derivatives* should be,

<i>theaterical,</i>
<i>sepulcheral,</i>
<i>central,</i>
<i>lusterous, etc.</i>

Acre, massacre, lucre, he says "are necessary exceptions." Doubtless they are "necessary" to *his rule*, and that proves his rule to be a bad one; it neither "promotes simplicity" nor "broadens analogy." When derivatives on the one hand, and pronunciation on the other, oppose the working of an arbitrary rule, a prudent man would withhold his rule; but reformers are seldom prudent men. In direct contradiction of this rule, Webster spells *ogre* with the original termination.

3. For reasons satisfactory to Webster — *ante*, rule number 3 — it was

necessary to strike out the "superfluous *l*" of *travelling*, and "about fifty similar words." If the precept in rule number 2 has any force, namely, that the spelling must not be altered when altering it endangers the pronunciation, some of these fifty changes will be found hazardous. For instance, as a matter of fact, and by orthoëpical construction,

shaveling,

starveling, etc.,

are words of two syllables; yet, under this rule, Webster ordains that

shovelng,

travelng, etc.,

which have precisely the same orthoëpical construction, shall be pronounced in three syllables. Here, then, is arbitrary rule the second, in direct conflict with arbitrary rule the first. Which must give way? But that is not all. Webster says that *chancellor*, *metallurgy*, and *crystalline* retain the *ll* because they are derived directly from the Latin and Greek. This "because" may as well be investigated. The lexicographer bases an orthographical principle on his simple assertion of a fact; but that fact is, first, inherently improbable; secondly, is utterly beyond the assertor's knowledge; and thirdly, would not support his position if it were true. 1. It is improbable. The three words necessarily came to the French before they were adopted by the English; and as *κρυσταλλος* changed into *crystallinus* on its journey through Rome, they all went "directly" from Italy to France; and our English ancestors had no occasion to go to Italy for what was already to be had by crossing the Channel. Moreover, the *h* of *chancellor* proves that it came "directly" from the French, and Webster *dis*-proves his own assertion of its derivation from *cancellarius*, by giving, in his own dictionary, *chancelier* as its etymology! 2. It is beyond the assertor's knowledge. Neither he nor his great-grandfather was *there* when the word was adopted; no human being can affirm, as truth, what is so remote and conjectural; and a vague and rash *guess* forms no apology, even, for such an affirmation. 3. If the words were "directly so derived," the fact would not justify Webster's excepting them from his rule. That rule is, inferentially — otherwise, it has no meaning whatever — that words "directly derived" always retain the *ll* of their originals. Yet observe how Webster himself sets this rule at nought in this very dictionary:

<i>excel</i> , spelled with one <i>l</i> , is derived from <i>excellō</i> ;	
<i>dispel</i> ,	<i>dispello</i> ;
<i>repel</i> ,	<i>repello</i> ;

libel, spelled with one *l*, is derived from *libellus* ;

pupil, “ “ “ *pupillus* ;

compel, “ “ “ *compello* ;

and so forth, and so forth. Nor is this all. After Webster has expunged the “superfluous *l*” from his “fifty words,” *marvellous*, *counsellor*, etc., in obedience to rule number 3, he proceeds, in defiance of the same rule, to spell in his dictionary as follows :

<i>gravel</i> ,	(primitive,)	<i>lamel</i> ,	(primitive,)
<i>gravelly</i> ,		<i>lamellar</i> ,	
<i>chapel</i> ,	(primitive,)	<i>lamellarly</i> ,	
<i>chapellany</i> ,		<i>lamellate</i> ,	
<i>cancel</i> ,	(primitive,)	<i>lamellated</i> ,	
<i>cancellate</i> ,		<i>lamelliferous</i> ,	
<i>cancellated</i> ,		<i>etc., etc.</i> ,	
<i>cancellation</i> ,			

and so on, indefinitely. There is another point to be considered, about rule number 3. Its phraseology seems to be plain, but Webster's practice confuses it. The rule *says*, that when the accent falls on the final consonant of the primitive, it is to be doubled in the derivative, and not otherwise ; as, *forget*, *forgetting*, in the one case, and *travel*, *traveler*, in the other. Yet Webster spells

tranquil, *tranquillity*, etc.,

as if he were prepared to say, that, though the accent does not fall on the final consonant of the primitive while it remains a primitive, yet if that consonant takes the accent when the word becomes a derivative, it is still to be doubled. This would be interpreting Webster's rule with a large latitude in his favor, and it is an interpretation to which he is by no means entitled. Nevertheless, give him the full benefit of it, and then apply the rule, so construed, to his spelling of

<i>civil</i> ,	<i>civility</i> ,
<i>legal</i> ,	<i>legality</i> ,
<i>frugal</i> ,	<i>frugality</i> , etc.,

and, then, for a counter-contradiction of his rule, where the final consonant of the primitive *is* accented, and the same consonant in the derivative is *not*, take his spelling of

excel, *excellent*,

and the lexicographer's inconsistency approaches the sublime ! It is to be observed that the spelling of the twenty and odd words here cited is correct in fact, but is not correct according to Webster's own rules.

4. Webster specifies *license*, among other words, as having been changed from *licence*, "because the derivatives require the s." This affirmation is an extraordinary "license" for a lexicographer whose dictionary contains the following words :

<i>license</i> ,	<i>licentiate</i> ,
<i>licensed</i> ,	<i>licentiation</i> ,
<i>licensing</i> ,	<i>licentious</i> ,
<i>licenser</i> ,	<i>licentiously</i> ,
<i>licensure</i> ,	<i>licentiousness</i> ;

that is, four derivatives in which the *s* is used, and five where it is not. And this misstatement of the fact is material, because Webster makes it one of his points of justification in "changing the only three words that remain, terminating in *ence*." But what does Webster mean by saying that *pretence*, *offence*, and *defence*, are "the only three words that remain terminating in *ence*"? His own dictionary contains many other words "terminating in *ence*," the derivatives of which do not retain the *c*, all of which he leaves just as he finds them, in a state of absolute non-conformity to his rule. For example :

<i>sentence</i> ,	<i>sententious</i> ,
<i>consequence</i> ,	<i>consequential</i> ,
<i>inference</i> ,	<i>inferential</i> ,

and so on. If a direct answer could have been extorted from Webster, it would be pleasant to see his reply to this question : Since it was necessary to change *defence* into *defense*, because *defensive* is spelled with an *s*, why should *sentence* remain unchanged, when its derivatives are spelled with a *t*? Webster says, "The question has been asked, Why not spell *fence* with an *s*?" And he finds "nothing easier than the reply, that the derivatives of *fence* require the *c*." If this reply means any thing, it means that the spelling of a derivative must control the spelling of its primitive ; and if this rule has any force, it must be general in its application, and not restricted to such isolated cases as Webster's caprice may dictate. The reader will have occasion to keep this point in remembrance. Now, *what* are "the primitives," in the case of *fence*, *offence*, and *defence*? Webster's dictionary gives the answer :

fend, the root of *offend* and *defend* ;
fence, for etymology, see *fend* ;

in other words, *fend* is the original word ; and from it, in order, come *fence*, *offend*, *defend*, *offence*, *offensive*, etc., *defence*, *defensive*, etc. So that, when Webster changed *defence* to *defense*, instead of conforming to

his rule, that the spelling of the derivative must govern that of the primitive, he, in fact, and without knowing it, practically enacted a new rule, that the spelling of one derivative must govern the spelling of another derivative, whenever the lexicographer deemed it expedient. The remaining word of the "only three that remained," is *pretence*. Here, again, by parity of reasoning, the actual primitive is *pretend*; but, for the sake of the argument, let *pretence* be the primitive, and then consult Webster's dictionary:

pretense,
pretensed, (*Encyc.*)
pretension;

the primitive, *pretence*, is changed, to conform to its two derivatives. But what sort of a modern English word is *pretensed*? Webster cites the Encyclopædia as authority. *What* Encyclopædia? Rule out the word, for the present, as not sufficiently accredited, and there remains one primitive *vs.* one derivative; a tie vote. But this is not a fair statement on the part of Webster; he omits the familiar word *pretentious*. His dictionary, which "contains 16,000 more words than can be found in any previous dictionary," and which attains that distinction by recruits from all creditable and discreditable sources, nevertheless does not contain the word *pretentious*. Why? Did Webster omit that, and insert *pretensed*, in order to give "the derivatives" a uniformity of spelling, and a majority of numbers? If so, the proceeding smacks strongly of *false* "pretences."

5, 6. Under rule number 3, Webster hunts down the "superfluous *l*" with the spirit of an exterminator; and in his preface, he still further hardens himself against *l*, by quoting a sneer from *Walker*; but Webster, under rule number 3, and Webster under rules 5 and 6, are two different men. The reasons given for adding an *l* to some words are quite as good as the reasons for taking it away from others; of which, more anon. In the mean time, it is impossible not to suggest, in reference to the quotation from *Walker*, (*vide* rule number 6,) that as *dulness* should be written *dullness*, because its primitive is written *dull*, *skilful* should be written *skillfull*, to "complete the analogy" with *stiffness*. An illustration, however, is a dangerous form of argument; it is very apt to prove too much, and those who resort to it in one case must submit to it in another. Apply this to rule number 5. "*Distil*, etc., should be written *distill*, because the derivatives, *distiller*, etc., require the *ll*;" then, certainly, *forget*, *submit*, *begin*, *refer*, *concur*, *repel*, and so

on, should be written *forgett*, *submitt*, *beginn*, *referr*, *concurr*, *repell*, and so on, because their derivatives require the final consonant to be doubled; as, *forgetting*, *submitting*, *beginning*, *referring*, *concurring*, *repelling*. By the way, Webster's views of the powers of a lexicographer are pleasantly illustrated in a remark about Walker. Having quoted, in his preface, Walker's opinion on "the superfluous *l*," he says, "These were the deliberate opinions of Walker. If he had taken the trouble to carry them into his vocabulary, instead of relying on this mere remark for the correction of the error, probably, by this time, the error *would have been wholly eradicated from our orthography*."

7. Webster's manner of stating this rule leads the reader to suppose that *befall*, *install*, *forestall*, *inthrall*, *miscall*, and *enroll*, are Webster's improvements on the previous spelling; but the last two, only, are his; and it is very odd that, when he became alive to the danger of mispronouncing *enrol* with one *l*, he should be so insensible to the same danger in *control*, as to spell it with a single *l*; and that, too, while he spells the derivatives *controlling*, etc., with the double *l*, in direct opposition to his own rule number 5.

8. "*Mould* and *moult* should be written *mold* and *molt*, because the *u* has been dropped, or never was used, in *gold*, *bold*, *fold*, and *colt*." The reason is good, and its force may be shown, as in rule number 5, by carrying out the illustration; *court* should be written *cort*, "because the *u* has been dropped, or never was used in" *port* and *fort*!

9. Webster found *wo*, *go*, *so*, *no*, without the *e*, and *foe*, *toe*, *hoe*, with it. His reason for adding the *e* to *wo*, and for not adding it to *go*, *so*, *no*, is, that *wo* is a noun, and the other three words are "other parts of speech." This is a small matter, at best; but Webster's reason is entirely arbitrary.

10. Waiving the questions whether MILTON is an authority for English orthography in the nineteenth century, and if he is so, whether *hight* is not misprinted from his manuscript *per alium*, one question remains touching rule number 10, viz.: Is there any disputed point in ethics, morals, religion, astronomy, or nursery rhymes, which may not be effectually disposed of by this universal solvent "*because*"? A word, however, as to MILTON, on the questions waived. Webster cites a poet who died a century and a half before the "American Dictionary" was born, in support of the spelling of the single word *hight*. But, surely, MILTON, if an authority at all, cannot be restricted to one word; he must be presumed to have had a knowledge of orthography generally, if he is per-

mitted to dogmatize on it particularly ; and if Webster accredits him as a standard, he must follow him as a standard. Turn, then, to the first edition of *Paradise Lost*. That may pretty safely be taken as an exponent of the poet's principles of English spelling — if, in his blindness, he had any. This edition, published in London in 1669, has, *passim*, the following specimens :

Som (some), rowled (rolled), shon (shone), tast (taste), fowl (foul), thir (their), justifie, defie, adversarie, progenie, alwaies, skie, appeer, neer, cleer, binde, mankinde, wilde, waye, ruine, cherube, haire, paine, forme, eare, gulfe, rime, accoste, meeter, mee, hee, seaventh, warr, clann, kenn, farr, lyes, onely, desperat, supream, sollid, etc.

11. Webster does not say *why* “verbs from the Greek $\iota\omicron\omega$ terminate in *ize*, as *baptize*,” etc., nor *why* “catechise and exorcise are exceptions.” But the working of his rule, under which he changes *defence* to *defense*, because *defensive* requires the *s*, seems to be impeded when applied to *baptize*, for he leaves it as he finds it, although he is compelled to spell its derivatives with an *s* ; *baptist, baptism, baptismal*, etc. The assertion that *baptize* and *legalize* are “derived directly from the Greek,” needs confirmation. Webster proceeds to say that “verbs and some nouns, derived from the French and elsewhere, have the termination in *ise*,” and he furnishes a list of examples that professes to include the whole. The necessity for the remark and the citations is not very obvious ; but it is strange that with his propensity to “complete analogies,” he should have omitted to include in his list the single and “only remaining” word *prize* ; certainly, on his own showing, that should be spelled *prise*.

It would seem, then, that Webster's much vaunted reform is limited to about *eighty words* in a dictionary containing *eighty thousand* words ; being the proportion of one to a thousand. A homœopathic quantity ; yet, as the words victimized are those in common use, the minute dose has had a visible effect on the system. But the effect is not remedial. The patient is no better. English orthography has not been simplified, nor have its analogies been broadened by Webster's labors, even supposing his innovations had been accepted by scholars — which they have not. The dictionary may *sell*, but not for its orthography. The proprietors of a large publishing house, who are also publishers of the dictionary, have introduced Webster's spelling into their books, probably as a matter of contract ; and some newspapers have, to a greater or less extent, taken the same course. But these instances carry no authority on a purely

literary question. Educated men and good writers, generally, have repudiated the experiment. And why should they not? The volunteer reformer was every way unequal to his task. He has given no good reason for any one change; and his changes, so far as adopted, have introduced confusion. His rules are ridiculous in themselves, irreconcilable with each other, and constantly at variance with his own practice. He changes a termination, or adds or takes away a letter, because the primitive requires it — because the derivative requires it — because it endangers the pronunciation, when it does not — because it secures the pronunciation, when it does not — because the word is a noun — because it isn't a noun — because it is an exception — because it is so pronounced (by ignorant people) — because MILTON spelled it so — in short, "because" *any thing* that fits the caprice of the moment. Such advancing and retreating, such convolutions and involutions of reasoning, all for the sake of doing what never was done before, and all within the compass of eighty words, can find no precedent in the career of reforms.

And it is remarkable, that Webster, with all his plodding, could not hit upon the really weak points of the language. He had the luck always to attack what was impregnable — at least, to *his* assaults. There is no lack of inconsistencies in English orthography; but the instances that are least defensible are just those that Webster failed to discover. It may be well to designate a few specimens — not with the intention of urging a reform; Webster's experience in that line may well deter imitators; but — to show how obscure are obvious truths to a certain class of investigators.

To *lead*, to *read*; the preterite and past participle of these verbs are pronounced *led* and *red*, and yet are spelled *led* and *read*.

Use, *abuse*, *rise*; the nouns and verbs have a uniform spelling, but the nouns are pronounced as *uce* and *ice*, and the verbs *uze* and *ize*; yet *advice* and *advise*, with a similar difference of pronunciation, are spelled to conform to that difference. Again, *surprise*, *surmise*, etc., pronounce the *s* like *z*, in both the verb and the noun.

Few and *view*; why should not the spelling of these words be uniform?

Whole in the adverb drops the *e*, and becomes *wholly*; *vile* in the adverb retains the *e*, *vilely*.

Fascinate and *vacillate*; one with the *s* and the other without it; *imitate* and *imminent*; one with one *m*, and the other with two. These words follow their respective etymologies, but there are so many instances where etymology does not control orthography, it seems rather *Websterian* to give that as a reason for the difference.

Vermilion, pavilion, cotillion; all directly from the French, and all having the *ll* in the original, though only the last retains it.

Boot, root, foot, in the singular, change, in the plural, to *boots, roots, feet*.

Proffer and *profit*, with a similar etymology, are thus differently spelled.

Couple and *supple*, from the French *couple* and *souple*; etymology in all respects identical, and yet, though pronounced alike in English, are thus diversely spelled.

Episode and *epitome* have the same etymology, yet one has three syllables, and the other four; this, however, is not a matter of spelling, but of pronunciation.

These are a few examples of *real* inconsistency in English orthography; but probably no man in his senses would undertake to reform them; the game would not pay for the candle.

Webster's tampering with the language was a calamity, because *no* radicalism is without its followers, and he has his. But the thing will have its day, and this good may come of it—other enthusiasts, taking warning from his example, may learn that a reformer whose entire theory is based on assumptions, whose rules are bare assertions of his opinions, and whose practice is inconsistent with both, will never make much progress among educated minds.

Worcester's New Dictionary

A

PRONOUNCING, EXPLANATORY AND SYNONYMOUS

DICTIONARY

OF THE

ENGLISH LANGUAGE:

WITH

- I.—PRONUNCIATION OF GREEK AND LATIN PROPER NAMES.
- II.—PRONUNCIATION OF SCRIPTURE PROPER NAMES.
- III.—COMMON CHRISTIAN NAMES, WITH THEIR SIGNIFICATION.
- IV.—PRONUNCIATION OF MODERN GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES.
- V.—ABBREVIATIONS USED IN WRITING AND PRINTING.
- VI.—PHRASES AND QUOTATIONS IN LATIN, FRENCH, ITALIAN, AND SPANISH.
- VII.—THE PRINCIPAL DEITIES AND HEROES IN GREEK AND ROMAN FABULOUS HISTORY.

BY JOSEPH E. WORCESTER, LL. D.

OCTAVO. 565 PAGES.

THIS Dictionary, designed for the use of Colleges, Academies, High Schools, and Private Libraries, bears on every page indubitable marks of having been carefully and skilfully prepared by Dr. Worcester, whose previous contributions to our educational literature have been models of condensation, of lucid arrangement, and of concise and perspicuous language, in their mode of presenting the results of extensive and accurate research.

In the department of DEFINITIONS, he has not contented himself with merely giving the accepted significations of a word, but has

shown in what connections or relations it is appropriately replaced by nearly equivalent words. This is what is meant by the term *synonymous* in the title. It adds greatly to copiousness and variety in speech and writing to be able to substitute one word for another without an essential alteration of the idea to be expressed. But it is very difficult to discriminate with accuracy between several expressions nearly related, and to select that which shall be most appropriate in a given case. Very few, even of the best speakers and writers, become so thoroughly masters of their native language as never to experience embarrassment in the search after a fit expression. It is to help in overcoming this difficulty that Dr. Worcester has introduced, in connection with those words which seem most to require it, a short exhibition of the synonymous terms, showing at a glance the distinctions to be noticed in choosing among them. Take, for example, the following words:—

À-BÂN'DON, *v. a.* To give up; to quit; to forsake; to desert; to leave; to relinquish; to resign; to renounce; to abdicate; to surrender; to forego.

Syn.—Bad parents *abandon* their children; men *abandon* the unfortunate objects of their guilty passions; men are *abandoned* by their friends; they *abandon* themselves to unlawful pleasures.—A mariner *abandons* his vessel and cargo in a storm; we *abandon* our houses and property to an invading army; we *desert* a post or station; *leave* the country; *forsake* companions; *relinquish* claims; *quit* business; *resign* an office; *renounce* a profession, or the world; *abdicate* a throne; *surrender* a town; *surrender* what we have in trust; we *abandon* a measure or an enterprise; *forego* a claim or a pleasure.

AD-VÍCE', *n.* Counsel; instruction;—intelligence.

Syn.—A physician gives *advice*; a parent, *counsel*; a teacher, *instruction*:—*advice*, *intelligence*, or *information* may be received from a correspondent.

À-MÁZE', *v. a.* To astonish; perplex; confound.

Syn.—*Amazed* at what is frightful or incomprehensible; *astonished* at what is striking; *perplexed*, *confounded*, or *confused* at what is embarrassing; *surprised* at what is unexpected.

ÀM-BÀS'SA-DÔR, *n.* A foreign minister of the highest rank sent on public business from one sovereign power to another.

Syn.—An *ambassador* and *plenipotentiary* imply the highest representative rank. An *ambassador* and *resident*, or *minister resident*, are permanent functionaries. An *envoy* and *resident* are functionaries of the second class of foreign ministers; and a *chargé d'affaires* is one of the third or lowest class.

À-NĀL'Y-SĪS, *n.*; *pl.* **À-NĀL'Y-SĒS**. The resolution of any thing into its first elements or component parts;—opposed to *synthesis*, which is the union of the component parts to form a compound. *Synthesis* is synonymous with *composition*; *analysis*, with *decomposition*.

ÀS-SŌ-CĪ-Ā'TĪŌN, (às-sŏ-shē-ā'shŭn) *n.* Confederacy; partnership; connection; union.

Syn.—An ecclesiastical or scientific *association*; a *confederacy* of states; a *partnership* in trade; a *connection* between persons; a *combination* of individuals; a *union* of parties or of states.

ÀV-À-RĪ''CĪŪS, (āv-ā-rĭsh'ŭs) *a.* Possessed of avarice; greedy of gain; covetous; niggardly; miserly; parsimonious; penurious.

Syn.—The *avaricious* are unwilling to part with their money; the *covetous* are eager to obtain money; the *niggardly* are mean in their dealings with others; the *miserly*, *parsimonious*, and *penurious* are mean to themselves, as well as to others.

ĀS'TŌM, *n.* The frequent repetition of the same act; habit; habitual practice; *usage*:—patronage:—*duties* on exports and imports. See **TAXES**.

Syn.—*Custom* is a frequent repetition of the same act; *habit* is the effect of such repetition; *fashion* is the custom of numbers; *usage*, the habit of numbers.

DE-CĒIV'ĒR, *n.* One who deceives; a cheat.

Syn.—A *doxiver* or *cheat* imposes on individuals; an *impostor*, on the public.

DE-FEND', *v. a.* To protect; to vindicate; to repel.

Syn. — *Defend* the innocent; *protect* the weak; *vindicate* those who are unjustly accused; *repel* aggression.

DIS-CERN'MENT, (*diz-zern'ment*) *n.* Act of discerning; penetration; sagacity; judgment.

Syn. — *Discernment* to distinguish; *penetration* or *sagacity* to perceive; *discrimination* to mark differences; *judgment* to decide.

HIS'TO-RY, *n.* A narrative of past events; a relation of facts respecting nations, empires, &c. — *Civil* or *political history* is the history of states and empires. *Profane history* is another term for *civil history*, as distinguished from *sacred history*, which is the historical part of the Scriptures. *Ecclesiastical history* is the history of the Christian church. *Natural history* is the history of all the productions of nature, animal, vegetable, and mineral.

Syn. — *Annals* are historical events digested in a series according to years; a *Chronicle* is a register of events in the order of time; *memoirs*, an account of events or transactions written familiarly, or as they are remembered by the narrator.

IN'FI-DËL, *n.* A disbeliever of Christianity; an atheist; an unbeliever.

Syn. — An *infidel* is one who has no belief in divine revelation; *unbeliever* and *disbeliever* are terms commonly, but not always, used in the same sense: — a *sceptic* professes to doubt of all things: — a *deist* believes in the existence of God, but disbelieves revelation: — an *atheist* denies the existence of God: — *freethinker* is commonly used in an ill sense, as synonymous with *infidel*.

LÂN'GUAGE (*käng'gwaj*), *n.* The mode of utterance; human speech; the speech of one nation; tongue; dialect; idiom; style.

Syn. — *Language* is a very general term, as we say the *language* not only of men, but of beasts and birds. *Tongue* refers to an original language, as the Hebrew *tongue*. *Speech* contemplates language as broken or cut into words, as the parts of *speech*, the gift of *speech*. Every language has its peculiar *idioms*. A *dialect* is an incidental form of a language used by the inhabitants of a particular district. The Greek *language*; Greek *idiom*; Attic *dialect*. Native or vernacular *language*; mother *tongue*. Elegant or good *language* or *style*.

LÂW'YER, *n.* One versed in law; an attorney.

Syn. — *Lawyer* is a general term for one who is versed in, or who practises law. — *Barrister*, *counsellor*, and *counsel*, are terms applied to lawyers who advise and assist clients, and plead for them in a court of justice. — An *attorney* is a lawyer who acts for another, and prepares cases for trial. — An *advocate* is a lawyer who argues causes. — A *special pleader* is one who prepares the written pleadings in a cause. — A *chamber counsellor* is a lawyer who gives advice in his office, but does not act in court. — A *conveyancer* is one who draws writings, by which real estate is transferred. — *Civilian* and *jurist* are terms applied to such as are versed in the science of law, particularly civil or Roman law. — A *solicitor* is a lawyer employed in a chancery court. — A *publicist* is a writer on the laws of nature and nations.

These instances will suffice to give an idea of the very great benefit one may receive by having this Dictionary at hand while engaged in composition; and to young pupils in our schools who are making their first attempts at expressing their thoughts in writing, such a book must be invaluable. At the same time it will not be less useful as a guide in all other matters upon which dictionaries are usually consulted. The definitions, though concisely expressed, are accurate, and sufficiently full to satisfy all ordinary inquiries. In SPELLING, the most approved usage is followed, without any attempt at innovation, and the various modes of PRONUNCIATION are given, with their several authorities, the author's preference being only intimated, but not insisted on.

In the APPENDIX we find, the Vocabularies of Classical, Scripture, and Modern Geographical Names, which were contained in the Comprehensive Dictionary, here much enlarged, and, in addition, a

WORCESTER'S NEW DICTIONARY.

list of common Christian names of men and women, with their etymologies and signification, in the perusal of which one may find much instruction and amusement.

Numerous letters have been received by the publishers, and others by the author (to which the publishers have had access), from some of the most distinguished teachers and literary men in different parts of the country. The following extracts will show in what estimation the work is held by them.

From the Hon. Edward Everett, LL. D.

BOSTON, MASS., November 19, 1855.

I willingly comply with your request that I would express my opinion of the Pronouncing, Explanatory, and Synonymous Dictionary, by Mr. Worcester, of which you were good enough to send me a copy a few weeks since. As far as I have had occasion to examine it, I find this new Dictionary to be marked with the characteristics of Mr. Worcester's former works of the same class, viz., accuracy as to matters of undisputed fact, and sound judgment as to debatable points. His orthography and pronunciation represent, as far as I am aware, the most approved usage of our language. His definitions seldom leave any thing to desire. The synonymes form a valuable feature of the present work, and a novel one for a manual dictionary. The matter contained in the Appendix is of great value, and will materially promote the convenience of the reader.

I have made constant use of Mr. Worcester's Dictionaries since their first publication, and I consider the present work, in some respects, an improvement on its predecessors.

EDWARD EVERETT.

From William H. Prescott, LL. D.

BOSTON, MASS., November 8, 1855.

I am much obliged to you for the present of your excellent Dictionary. It is a welcome addition to my library; for, though I had provided myself with an earlier edition, I was not possessed of this, which evidently contains many improvements on its predecessors. I have long since learned to appreciate your valuable labors, which have done so much to establish the accuracy of pronunciation, while affording the reader, by the citation of authorities, the means of determining for himself. Nor is the public less indebted to you for the pains you have bestowed on settling the orthography of words, which in many instances affords ample debatable ground to the inquirer. These more prominent merits of all your dictionaries are enhanced by the judicious selection of synonymes, with which the present edition is enriched.

A work compiled on so sound and philosophical principles, and yet so well accommodated to popular use, cannot fail to commend itself to all who would have a correct knowledge of their vernacular.

WILLIAM H. PRESCOTT.

WORCESTER'S NEW DICTIONARY.

From Washington Irving, LL. D.

SUNNY SIDE, N. Y., October 3, 1855.

Accept my thanks for the copy of your Pronouncing, Explanatory, and Synonymous Dictionary which you have had the kindness to send me. As far as I have had time to examine it, it gives me great satisfaction, and appears to me to be well calculated to fulfil the purpose for which it professes to be intended — to supply the wants of common schools, and to be a sufficient manual for schools of a higher order.

WASHINGTON IRVING.

From the Hon. Josiah Quincy, LL. D., late President of Harvard University

QUINCY, MASS., October 9, 1855.

As I once, I think, told you, that agreeing with Lord Bolingbroke in little else, I shared his admiration and gratitude for *writers of dictionaries*, — he thought them worthy of special thanks to Heaven, — works so full of labor, so extensive in their objects of research, yet so minute in the subjects of attention; so useful as to have become a *necessity* to literary life, yet requiring for success so many particulars, various in their kinds, so much general knowledge, so much accuracy of thought, combined with judgment in investigation, that it seems that nature must be more than usually beneficent to confer on any one man all the qualities requisite to a happy result in the undertaking. The public have long since passed judgment on your qualifications, and the lapse of many years has confirmed its earliest decisions.

JOSIAH QUINCY.

From Francis Bowen, A. M., Alford Professor of Moral Philosophy in Harvard College, and late Editor of the *North American Review*.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., October 4, 1855.

I am much obliged to you for the copy of your new Dictionary, which I have examined with some care. It seems well adapted to answer its purpose as an academic text-book, being of convenient size, and distinctly printed on good paper, so that it can be freely consulted without injury to the eyes. The vocabulary is full enough, and the character of the predecessors of the book is a sufficient voucher for its accuracy. The synonyms are a valuable addition to the plan of the work, and so far as I have examined them they appear to be concisely and clearly expressed. I have no doubt that it will have the ample success which has attended all your previous publications on lexicography.

FRANCIS BOWEN.

From the Rev. Edward Hitchcock, D. D., late President of Amherst College.

AMHERST, MASS., October 3, 1855.

I acknowledge with gratitude the receipt of your new Pronouncing, Explanatory, and Synonymous Dictionary. Having been in the habit of using the "*Universal and Critical Dictionary*" almost exclusively for several years, I shall welcome the new one with its improvements and additions. So far as I have examined it, it seems to me admirably adapted to the sphere it was intended to occupy. I trust the public will appreciate its value, and thus reward you in some measure for your indefatigable and long-continued labors in this department of learning.

EDWARD HITCHCOCK.

WORCESTER'S NEW DICTIONARY.

From the Hon. John McLean, LL. D., Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

CINCINNATI, OHIO, October 21, 1855.

I thank you for a copy of your "Pronouncing, Explanatory, and Synonymous Dictionary of the English Language." Ever since the publication of your large Dictionary I have had it near me in my library, and one of the smaller editions I have always had on my table, at every place where my public duties call me.

I have often felt desirous that you should publish a more copious edition than the smaller volume of the work, without increasing its size so as to render it unportable. Your late publication is all that can be desired in this respect: and it contains much valuable information on orthography, and the pronunciation of words, which is not found in any other dictionary.

JOHN MCLEAN.

From the Rev. Eliphalet Nott, D. D., Pres. of Union College, Schenectady, N. Y.

UNION COLLEGE, N. Y., 2 October, 1855.

The very acceptable present of a copy of "Worcester's Academic Dictionary" has come to hand. With the larger work I have long been familiar, and can cheerfully bear testimony to its great merit. It is at once a monument to the honor of its author and to the country thus signalized by his labors. From a glance at the contents of this volume I doubt not it will add alike to the literary wealth of the community and to the reputation of the author.

Trusting that this production, the result of so much patient toil and extensive research, will receive from the public the reward it so richly deserves, I am, very respectfully, yours,

ELIPH'T NOTT.

From C. C. Felton, LL. D., Eliot Professor of Greek Literature in Harvard College.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., October 1, 1855.

I am greatly obliged to you for the copy of your Dictionary which you sent to me. I shall keep it on my table for constant reference, and I know very well it will be extremely useful to me. It gives me great pleasure to see the general and hearty recognition of the value of your labors in this important department of literature. The influence of your works is rapidly extending, in spite of opposition; and I am very sure that your great Dictionary will become the standard everywhere.

C. C. FELTON.

From the Rev. William A. Stearns, D. D., President of Amherst College.

AMHERST COLLEGE, MASS., October 2, 1855.

I have already looked into it [the Dictionary] sufficiently to see that it is a great improvement on your former work, which to say of any work of the kind is the greatest praise. I am sure it will be hailed with gladness by the best scholars in the country. Henceforth, for years to come, if my life should be spared, the copy you have kindly forwarded to me will have a place within the reach of my study table, and be numbered among my daily companions.

WILLIAM A. STEARNS.

WORCESTER'S NEW DICTIONARY.

From the Rev. Charles G. Finney, President of Oberlin College.

OBERLIN, OHIO, October 6, 1855.

I have examined your Dictionary in respect to those things in which all others are, in my estimation, deficient, and am of opinion that, for the English reader, this work will meet the wants of the American people far better than any thing hitherto published. Within the last quarter of a century many foreign words have come into common use, especially in our periodical literature, the signification of which few English readers understand. The advance of science in all its departments is also bringing before the common reader many terms and phrases not generally understood. Our youth resort in vain to the English or American Dictionaries for the definition of those words and phrases. Our language is constantly receiving additions from almost every language of Europe. Besides many foreign terms and phrases not understood in this country because of their origin, many obsolete terms are coming again into use. We hardly take up a newspaper, and seldom a quarterly, without finding something to puzzle the English reader, no explanation of which is found in our standard Dictionaries. This want has pressed more heavily upon the reading public from year to year. I have looked over the pages of your work, and have been pleased to find nearly every thing of the kind I refer to that could be desired. It is a timely and highly important book. It is needed in nearly every family, and will be much valued by the reader. That it may have the circulation it deserves is my earnest wish.

CHARLES G. FINNEY.

From the Rev. James Walker, D. D., President of Harvard College.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., October 5, 1855.

I have looked your Pronouncing, Explanatory, and Synonymous Dictionary over with some care, and think the additions and improvements you have introduced into it, compared with any of your former Dictionaries, are important, especially as regards synonyms. It is beyond question the most convenient Dictionary for the study-table, and for common use, which I have yet seen.

JAMES WALKER.

From the Hon. Theodore Frelinghuysen, LL. D., President of Rutgers College.

NEW BRUNSWICK, N. J., October 6, 1855.

I heartily thank you for your excellent "Pronouncing, Explanatory, and Synonymous Dictionary." I shall prize it as a most valuable help in all its departments — and especially in the last. It was a happy thought to interweave the synonymous explanations; they so much and readily aid hard-working men, who have so little time for research, as those who have many executive duties in seminaries and colleges.

THEO. FRELINGHUYSEN.

From the Rev. Daniel Kirkwood, LL. D., President of Delaware College.

DELAWARE COLLEGE, October 3, 1855.

I have just received the copy of your "Dictionary of the English Language," which you had the goodness to forward me. I regard the work as one of great merit, admirably adapted to the uses for which it is designed.

DANIEL KIRKWOOD.

WORCESTER'S NEW DICTIONARY.

From the Rev. James B. Dodd, President of Transylvania University.

LEXINGTON, KY., October 6, 1855.

It would exceed the limits which must be prescribed to this communication to enter particularly into the merits of this Dictionary, and I must be content with the general testimonial that, for the purposes of convenient consultation by readers of every class, and more especially by the *student* who would gain a *critical*, a *practical*, and an *extensive* acquaintance with the English and American language undefiled, there is no Dictionary equal to this.

I have no other motive for commending this work than such as may be supposed to spring from a zeal which has grown out of long service in the cause of education, and a desire to see some honor done to the veteran author of the work, who, from the "accursed love of gold," has been sought to be made the victim of literary injustice and fraud in this country and in England.

JAMES B. DODD.

From the Rev. Benjamin Hale, D. D., President of Hobart Free College, Geneva, N. Y.

GENEVA, N. Y., October 11, 1855.

I have used your larger Dictionary many years with great satisfaction, and your smaller one I have been in the habit of recommending for the use of pupils. I am much pleased with the edition I have just received. The addition of the synonymes is valuable, and, so far as I have examined, seems to be very aptly done, and the whole work to be very complete for its purpose.

BENJAMIN HALE.

From the Rev. C. Collins, D. D., President of Dickinson College.

CARLISLE, PA., October 5, 1855.

I have to acknowledge the receipt from you of a copy of your "Pronouncing, Explanatory, and Synonymous Dictionary of the English Language." After giving it a somewhat careful examination, I take pleasure in saying that it seems to me to fulfil the conditions of a common reference Dictionary more perfectly than any one now before the public. I shall recommend to the college bookseller to order it for the use of the students.

C. COLLINS.

From the Rev. Wm. A. Smith, D. D., President of Randolph Macon College, Va.

RANDOLPH MACON COLLEGE, VA., October 18, 1855.

I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your small Dictionary. I embraced an early opportunity to examine it, and am happy to state that your additions to the plan usually pursued in works of the kind are decided improvements, greatly increasing the practical value of a Dictionary.

WM. A. SMITH.

From S. H. Taylor, LL. D., Principal of Phillips' Academy, Andover, Mass.

ANDOVER, MASS., October 5, 1855.

It seems to me to combine unusual excellences, and as a manual for general use, and for high schools and colleges, it has no superior. The attention given to the principal synonymes of the language is a new and valuable feature. I am confident that the Dictionary will meet the high expectations of the public.

S. H. TAYLOR.

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WORCESTER'S DICTIONARIES are used in the Public Schools of the cities of Boston, New York, Baltimore, Washington, D. C., New Orleans, St. Louis, Chicago, Cleveland, Buffalo, Rochester, Schenectady, and in many other of the principal cities and towns in the United States. The unprincipled attacks made by selfish and interested parties upon the character of Dr. Worcester and his Dictionaries have only attracted the attention of the public to the merits of his works; and the sale of them is rapidly increasing in every part of the country.

Dr. Worcester has done more to establish the accuracy of pronunciation than any other English Lexicographer. In all disputable cases, he has not been content with expressing his own preference, but by the citation of the most distinguished authorities, he has left the student the means of determining for himself.

Every practical teacher knows that one of the principal uses of a Dictionary in a school room is to determine the proper pronunciation of words. Most of the dictionaries used are defective in this particular. Take, for instance, the following classes of words in Webster's Dictionary: *bait, bear; date, dare; fate, fare; hate, hare; late, lair; mate, mare; pate, pare; rate, rare; wait, ware, &c.* In all these words Webster improperly gives but one sound of *a*, viz., the long sound as heard in *fate*. The absurdity of this, as well as the impossibility of following his directions, may readily be seen by pronouncing the foregoing class of words in rapid succession. Webster makes no distinction between the sounds of *e* in *merit* and *mercy; merry* and *merchant*; and of *u* in *hurry* and *hurdle*. His errors, which extend in similar classes of words throughout all his dictionaries, arise from his imperfect knowledge of the power of the letter *r*. A moment's reflection will show that this letter has a peculiar influence on both the long and the short sound of the vowel which precedes it, in a monosyllable, or in an accented syllable, unless the succeeding syllable begins with a vowel sound; as, *care, fare, pare, mercy, merchant, hurdle, &c.* When the succeeding syllable begins with a vowel sound, the sound of the preceding vowel is not modified; as, *merit, merry, hurry, &c.*

Dr. Worcester has wisely made a distinction in marking the sounds of these classes of words; and for this and other excellences, his works are commended by the best scholars in the country.

* Teachers have only to examine his Dictionaries, and they will be sure to recommend the use of them.

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